

ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN? – by George Meany

The American  
FEDERATIONIST

APRIL 1953  
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# The American FEDERATIONIST

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APRIL, 1952

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## *In This Issue*

ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN.....	George Meany	3
MUTUAL SECURITY.....	William Green	4
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STEEL CASE ...Harry C. Bates, W. C. Birthright, E. E. Walker, Lee W. Minton		5
TRAINING FUTURE OFFICERS.....	David Dubinsky	7
THEY WORK FOR PENNIES.....	Ernesto Galazza	10
TODAY'S LABOR FRONTIER.....	Paul R. Hutchings	14
THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE.....	Charles J. MacGowran	17
EDITORIALS.....	William Green	18
PROSPERITY FOR WHOM?.....	Bert Seidman	20
THE FOOLISH WHITTEN RIDER.....	Leo E. George	22
BALTIMORE MAKES PROGRESS.....	G. A. Ruark	24
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....		28
WHAT THEY SAY.....		32
JUNIOR UNION STORY.....	Annabel Lee Glenn	Cover

## *Hunger*

Throughout the world the cry of people is first of all for food. It is not for the bullet box or even for the ballot box. It is for the bread box.

We as a people can help to prevent war by helping to remove hunger and insecurity. Remove hunger and we will thereby remove much of the explosive possibilities in the underdeveloped countries. We will thereby diminish the danger of a final and all-destroying world war.

If we as a people fight for food policies which are based on human needs, we will have taken the first great step in a movement that will bring about a major advance in human well-being.

We in the Western world have made a wonderful discovery. We have discovered the new world of plenty, based on the fact that one man's work can now produce more—much more—than is required for one man's subsistence.

It is time we all got together to bring the American way of life into the universal way of life, keeping the best and giving our best, as a matter of mercy and decency.

Unless we are willing to sacrifice for others because our goals are spiritual, we will have neither peace nor security.

*Murray Lincoln.*

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*You can't be a good trade unionist unless you are a good citizen first. That is—and always has been—a basic principle of the American Federation of Labor.*



SECRETARY MEANY

# ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN?

**by George Meany**

WE trade unionists of the American Federation of Labor are deeply proud of our citizenship. We are proud and we are happy that it is our privilege to be Americans. We not only *think* but deep in our hearts we *know* that it is a priceless and a very wonderful thing to be able to say: "I am an American."

Yes, we are all Americans, we who perform the innumerable tasks in industries of every description. But are we carrying out our full responsibilities as citizens? Or are some of us lazy and neglectful of our fundamental duties as good Americans?

Never has it been more vitally important than in this year 1952 that all of us who toil for a living should be answering these questions as they should be answered.

Our American government is designed to be not only a government *for* the people but also—let us never forget—a government *by* the people.

"By the people" is a phrase which cannot be misconstrued or misunderstood. It is very plain. It means that each and every American not only has the *right* to be a *participating* citizen but has the *duty* to be that kind of citizen.

Now, how can we take part? How do we go about it? What exactly do

we do in order to be citizens of the kind that our country needs and must have in order to endure, prosper and go forward?

First and foremost, if we desire to be good citizens, we must vote. We must take part in the elections. We must permit no one, no perverted propaganda, no obstacle or difficulty of any kind to stand in our way when Election Day arrives. Without question, that is the first responsibility of every good citizen of the United States—to go to the polls and vote on Election Day.

Other obligations of good citizenship should not be neglected, of course. A good American has many obligations and he will not ignore or neglect them. But no matter how conscientious an American may be about his other citizenship duties, I doubt very much that he can be termed a good citizen if the duty to vote is disregarded.

The overriding importance of participation by every individual in our elections derives from the nature of our government. The United States is a popular democracy—not a monarchy, not an oligarchy, not a dictatorship. In an undemocratic country the right to vote is either non-existent or meaningless, for those who rule

are not interested in the views of the plain people. But in the United States the situation is entirely different. Here the government is not the master of the people but the *servant* of the people—under the Constitution.

It is our job, as citizens, to see to it that our government always operates as the servant of the people—and that means that we must go to the polls and cast our ballots.

If large numbers of us default, it is natural that the government will become less and less the servant of the people. Such a deterioration is a tragedy, but if it occurs through our own absenteeism on Election Day, we have no one to blame but ourselves.

The Eightieth Congress, the Congress which passed the Taft-Hartley Act that makes second-class citizens of America's working people, could not be accurately described as the servant of the people. It would be much closer to the truth to describe it as the servant of the special interests. How did that come about?

The Eightieth Congress was elected in November, 1946. On that Election Day millions of Americans failed to vote. They fell down on the No. 1 duty of good citizens. And the result was a Congress under the thumb of

the reactionary forces symbolized by the N.A.M.

This year we have an opportunity to elect a Congress which will truly reflect the desires of the people. A Congress that will be responsive to the will of the millions can be elected on November 4.

But it is impossible to elect such a Congress by sitting back and doing nothing. We must roll up our sleeves. We must work—and work *hard*. And we should be glad to work hard in this cause because so very much is at stake.

First of all, we must do a tremendous job on registration. The would-be voter cannot vote unless he is registered. In former election years tens of millions of our people have been deprived of the opportunity to exercise the right to vote because they were not registered.

Let us throw the same energies, the

same determination and the same organizing skill into this fundamental job—the job of persuading our people to register to vote—as we have applied to the task of organizing working men and women into trade unions.

Secondly, we must give our support to Labor's League for Political Education. It costs only one dollar to become a member in good standing of L.L.P.E. The money contributed to L.L.P.E. will be used to carry out the objectives upon which working people are agreed. Perhaps there are better investments, but I do not know of any and I doubt that anyone can find a superior investment. So do not fail to back up the work of L.L.P.E. by giving your dollar to become a member in good standing. It will give you a feeling of deep satisfaction to know that you are playing your part.

Finally, of course, we must be sure to go to the polls on Election Day. No matter what else we may do, if we fail to vote, we can't expect to win. We must turn out this year in the greatest numbers in the nation's history, and if we remember to do that, we may be confident that the results will be good for working people, good for the country and good for the free world.

Don't let anyone tell you that "politics is only for the professionals." Politics is for all of us. We must be in politics because the great question of peace and our everyday bread-and-butter problems are directly affected, favorably or unfavorably, by politics.

We must be in politics because this is a democratic country, not a dictatorship—and in a democracy, politics is not the business of a self-appointed few but very much the business of everybody.

## President Green on Mutual Security

A STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

IT IS my purpose in this statement to stress as emphatically as I can the importance of enacting the mutual security program, as presented to Congress by President Truman, without sacrificing the vital defense-supporting and economic phases envisaged by this program.

News dispatches from Moscow dated March 6, 1952, reveal that the official and published budget of the Soviet Union provides for a record-breaking peacetime allocation of funds for military purposes. We cannot take the Soviet official figures as anything but a gross understatement of the actual allocation of their funds, manpower and resources to armament. But even the doctored official figures reveal that the Soviet Union is straining every available resource to increase its armed strength.

The fact that needs to be brought home in this connection is that the Soviet Union is not rearming—the Soviets did not disarm at the end of World War II. The Communist world was not demobilized in the years following the last war, while the free world did demobilize. The accumulated military strength of the Communist-dominated portion of the

world must not, therefore, be underestimated.

In the light of these facts, we believe it is imperative to carry out our full share of the task under the North Atlantic Treaty.

We feel it is even more imperative that the defense-supporting and the economic portions of the program be approved by Congress without a reduction. In the conflict between freedom and communism, it is these programs that hold the balance between success and failure in stopping Communist aggression and preventing the inroads of communism in the parts of the world that are and want to remain free.

IT SHOULD be recognized that in Europe today the per capita expenditures for consumption, in European NATO countries plus Germany, average just one-fourth of the per capita consumption expenditures in the United States. In Italy, Portugal, Greece and Turkey, per capita consumption expenditures run from one-fifth to as low as one-sixth of the U.S. consumption standards. It is plain that the burden of rearmament cannot be sustained under these conditions

without specific measures to help support the effort.

Despite the low per capita income and the low standards of consumption, Western European countries will contribute under the Lisbon plan of action almost twice as much as the assistance they will receive from the United States. Without the defense-supporting portion of the program, and without the small portion devoted to economic aid, the total mutual security effort cannot be expected to succeed.

Let me emphasize the need for the economic aid provided on an extremely modest scale to Southeast Asia, the Middle East and other areas in the form of technical aid and economic assistance. To carry on these programs, where the human need is so great and where the eagerness of the people to begin, with this help, the task of helping themselves is so keen, there can be no hesitation on our part at this critical moment.

We regard the approval of the mutual security program as the test of United States leadership today. We look to your committee to give this program the approval it so well deserves.

# The TRUTH About the Steel Case

By HARRY C. BATES, W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,  
ELMER E. WALKER and LEE W. MINTON

**O**N December 22, 1951, the Wage Stabilization Board received its eighteenth dispute case under the terms of Executive Order 10233 of the President of the United States. That case involved various companies in the steel industry and the United Steelworkers of America, C.I.O.

On March 20, 1952, the Board submitted to the President, for transmittal to the parties, its report and recommendations as to fair and equitable terms of settlement.

During the span of three months this dispute was moved through the established procedures of the Board for the handling of all dispute cases.

But with the release of the Board's recommendations to the public, there arose a veritable tornado of confusion, misstatements of facts and unsupported opinions. Most assuredly this tornado has left behind it grave doubts as to just what the Wage Stabilization Board did recommend for settlement of the steel dispute. As a consequence, we A. F. of L. members of the Wage Stabilization Board are taking this opportunity to tell the members of all the A. F. of L. affiliates the truth about the steel case.

## Background

Any objective consideration of this dispute must begin with the background of collective bargaining between the parties. The pertinent facts are as follows:

(1) This dispute arose when the contracts between the parties expired on December 31, 1951.

(2) The expiring contracts had been originally negotiated in 1947 and had remained unaltered save for two changes in wages—one in 1948 and one in 1950.

(3) This was the first time since 1947 that all provisions of the collective bargaining agreements were open for full review and revision.

(4) There had been no changes in the non-wage or fringe items of the agreements since 1947.

(5) Since January, 1950—a base date for wage stabilization wage policies—there had been but one wage increase, that of December, 1950, when a general across-the-board increase of 12½ cents per hour was obtained plus 3½ cents per hour for job increment adjustments.

On the basis of this background information, the conclusion is self-evident that the Wage Stabilization Board was not confronted with a case which required the making of new policy.

The real problem presented by the steel case was to determine whether or not—within existing policies of the Board—the Steelworkers could catch up to the collective bargaining advances made by other organized wage-earners throughout America.

As a matter of fact, the entire presentation of the Steelworkers was limited to arguments intended to demonstrate that their demands were approvable entirely within the limits of existing Board policies.

The keystone of the union's case was that increases in wages and improvements in working conditions were necessary for steelworkers to catch up to wage-earners in other industries.

## Wage Recommendations

In the face of the facts, a majority of the Wage Stabilization Board—with industry dissenting—recommended the following wage increases:

(1) A general wage increase of 12½ cents per hour effective as of the expiration of the contract.

(2) An additional wage adjustment of 2½ cents on July 1, 1952.

(3) An additional wage adjustment of 2½ cents on January 1, 1953.

(4) No other wage adjustments would be made during the 18-month period.

These recommended wage increases indicated clearly that if the parties agreed to a one-year contract, then the average hourly increase for the year would amount to 13¾ cents.

This average of 13¾ cents an hour for one year was derived from the fact that for the first six months of 1952 the wage increase would be 12½ cents and for the second six months it would be 15 cents—12½ cents plus 2½ cents. An average of 12½ cents for the first six months and 15 cents for the second six months yields an average increase of 13¾ cents for the year.

If the parties decided to adopt an eighteen-month contract, then for the life of such contract the average increase would amount to 15 cents an hour—computed by averaging 12½ cents for the first six months, 15 cents for the second six months and 17½ cents for the third six-month period.

This step increase is far less than the amount inaccurately reported in the press and over the air. There is a substantial difference between a single 17½-cent general increase for a one-year contract and a step increase totaling 17½ cents over an eighteen-month period.

These recommended increases should be considered in the light of the established policies of the Wage Stabilization Board, which have been applied time and time again in the thousands of voluntary wage petitions considered by the Board.

Specifically, the Steelworkers had not exhausted the wage increases permissible under General Wage Regulation 6—the now well-known "10 per cent formula."

Specifically, also, the Steelworkers had received no cost-of-living wage increases permitted by General Wage Regulation 8 to maintain the real wages of workers.

Furthermore, the fact must be underscored that if the Board's wage recommendations were accepted, then all other wage increases for the period of the contract were forbidden; there would be no escalator clause or reopening clause permitted under the Board's recommendations on wages, despite the fact that both sources of wage increases have become common.

place in collective bargaining agreements throughout the nation and the adjustments can be made without prior Board approval.

Under the authority of Regulation 8—an established policy of the Board which permits the recovery of losses in real wages—the Board had ample justification for an average increase of 15 cents per hour. The rise in the cost of living since the date of the last wage increase obtained by the Steelworkers was in effect a wage reduction. As a consequence, therefore, both in justice and on the basis of established wage policy permitting recovery of losses in real wages, the decision of the Board was obviously justified.

In terms of the food, clothing and shelter obtained by wages, the Board's recommendation on wages in the steel case was literally not an increase but simply a restoration of purchasing power. The Steelworkers have not moved ahead in wages—they are simply *catching up* to the rise in the cost of living.

Certainly, there have been thousands of A. F. of L. cases where such cost-of-living adjustments have been made regularly. The action of the Stabilization Board, therefore, was most certainly not based on any new wage policy and cannot therefore establish any "new pattern."

### Fringe Benefits

In view of the fact that the fringe benefits in the Steelworkers' contract had remained unchanged since 1947, there was no need for any "new policy" on fringe benefits. Existing policy was more than adequate.

The determination of fringe benefit adjustments by the Board is made under General Wage Regulation 13. The criterion set up in this regulation is a comparison of existing fringe benefits in an industry or in an area with those sought by the parties. The Board does not express the value of fringe benefits in terms of cents per hour as it does wage rate increases. Fringe adjustments are permissible not on the basis of cost per hour but on the basis of existing practice or custom in industry or area.

In this particular case it was obviously impossible to compare the practices of the steel industry as to fringe benefits with itself. Actually, if the prevailing standard benefits in typical A. F. of L. contracts in the area of the steel mills had been used,

then the fringe adjustments which the Steelworkers could have received would have been much higher.

Instead, the Board compared fringe benefits in other major industries with those called for in the 1947 steel contracts.

The majority recommendations of the Board—with industry members dissenting—were as follows:

(1) Narrowing of geographical wage differentials by 5 cents.

(2) Increasing the night-shift differentials of 4 cents and 6 cents established in 1944 to 6 cents and 9 cents for the second and third shifts, respectively.

(3) Proposed for the first time six paid holidays and double time for holidays worked.

(4) Left vacations of 1-1, 2-5 years of service but proposed 3 weeks of vacation for 15 years instead of 25 years.

(5) Proposed for the first time premium paid for work performed on Saturday and Sunday as such be paid at the rate of time and one-quarter—effective January, 1953.

A comparison of these fringe benefits with those obtained in numerous A. F. of L. cases processed by the Wage Stabilization Board provides proof positive that the Board did not exceed the limits of Wage Regulation 13. As a matter of fact, on the basis of typical A. F. of L. collective bargaining agreements, the Stabilization Board was very conservative.

### Union Security

The expiring agreement between the steel companies and the Steelworkers contained a maintenance-of-membership clause and a check-off. The Steelworkers sought a Taft-Hartley union shop. The majority recommendation of the Board—industry members dissenting—was as follows:

"A majority of the Board recommends that the parties include a union shop provision in their new contracts, *the exact form and condition thereof to be determined by them in their forthcoming negotiations.*" [Emphasis added]

Emphasis has been added to the above quotation because attention is drawn to the fact that the Board did not recommend the maximum possible union security permitted by the Taft-Hartley Act. Instead, the Board has in substance recommended to the parties that they accept the principle

of the union shop as modified by the Taft-Hartley Act. Most certainly no one acquainted with the development of union security in this country over the last century can find any grounds for depicting this recommendation of the Board as anything but extremely conservative.

As A. F. of L. members of the Stabilization Board, we were reluctant to endorse such a mild recommendation; yet if we had not supported this recommendation, there would have been no recommendation.

### Summary

In the preceding parts of this report we have attempted to outline for all members of A. F. of L. affiliates the essential facts which make up the truth of the steel case.

At no time did the union in this case seek to justify its position on any grounds other than existing policies of the Wage Stabilization Board. In its decision the Board did not depart from its established policies which are being applied daily to thousands of cases. The case did not require new policies, since the Steelworkers were seeking nothing more than to *catch up* to the current levels of wages, hours and working conditions in other collective bargaining contracts.

There is no recommendation of the Board in this dispute case which could not or would not be quickly approved if it were submitted in a voluntary petition by an employer alone or by the joint request of a bargaining agent and an employer.

Since no new policies, either as to wages or as to fringe benefits, have been developed in this case, the unfounded assertion that a "new wage pattern" has been made is simply a show of ignorance.

The companion bit of propaganda, that all other unions are eagerly awaiting the time when they too will demand the "new pattern," is equally ridiculous. Most other unions have already received the benefits of Wage Board policies.

All the tricks of "public relations" experts and all the biased editorials of uninformed editors cannot change the fact that the steel case is the most publicized "catch-up" case the Wage Stabilization Board has processed. The recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board are in fact conservatively within the limits of its well-established policies.

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# TRAINING FUTURE OFFICERS



Top photo—David Dubinsky. Below—I.L.G.W.U. Training Institute students hear Mr. Dubinsky

By DAVID DUBINSKY  
*President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*

IN 1950, at the golden jubilee convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the General Executive Board of our international announced the launching of the I.L.G.W.U. Training Institute. Referring to the new institution as "the outgrowth of an ideal which took root in our union many years ago, and after many evolution-

ary steps has now taken concrete shape and form," the Executive Board pointed out that the Institute was the result of growing recognition of "the need for developing trained leadership within the ranks of the workers because of greatly expanded organization work."

Next month the second group of I.L.G.W.U. Training Institute grad-

uates will enter the full-time employment of the international. On May 19 a third class will be enrolled for a year of study and field work. The first group of twenty-seven young men and women graduated in 1951 have been in union service for almost a year. Thus the Training Institute, which was just getting under way in 1950, is today an integral

part of our international union program.

In establishing the Training Institute the I.L.G.W.U. recognized that legislative developments as well as far-reaching changes affecting production and distribution had altered the pattern of labor-employer relations. Administration of labor unions and extension of organizing efforts to non-union areas require greater skill and a more specialized training than ever before.

This need for trained leadership to meet increasingly complex problems was most aptly summarized by our officers shortly after the establishment of the Institute:

"Labor leadership, in other words, is no more a hit-or-miss avocation at which anyone with some qualifications could become a success. Union management has in recent years assumed the status of a full-fledged profession. And the feeling in the world of organized labor is growing ever stronger that just as the young lawyer or doctor spends years of effort to attain a career through training at a reputable college, so should the young man or woman, anxious for a career in the trade union movement, be ready to sacrifice time and energy for the required preparation.

"There exists, moreover, another

specific reason in our own minds for the imperative need of such a training institute. The course of time has brought our union face to face with the inevitable problems of leadership replacement. Age is an inflexible bookkeeper, and it takes toll regardless of best intentions or loftiest thoughts.

"The turnover of officers—organizers and administrators—and the need for a younger leader element are fast moving up to the front as an organizational problem which our union could no longer ignore."

**T**HE I.L.G.W.U. Training Institute is a day school offering a one-year course, seven months of which are devoted to lectures, discussion and workshop activities, broken up into three semesters—two of three months each and the third lasting one month. Five months of the year are devoted to field work, broken up into two periods, the first lasting three months, the second two months.

Specialists in economics and labor legislation and representatives of government agencies and industry meet with the students. Heads of the various departments of the I.L.G.W.U. also give them the benefit of their experience. Local managers, business agents and organizers dis-

cuss the many problems of union administration.

Besides the many class hours devoted to both general courses such as "Economics for Workers" and "Comparative Labor Movements" and specific garment industry courses like "Problems in Organizing," "Economics of the Garment Industry" and "Management Engineering," the students spend considerable time in a series of workshops. These workshops, dealing with such matters as speech, leaflet writing, radio broadcasting, mimeographing and audio-visual aids, are practical, "learning-by-doing" courses where the skills required by the union official on the job are developed.

The entire curriculum of the school is geared to the specific kind of job to be performed by an I.L.G.W.U. official and is continually revised in the light of the experience of graduates out on the job. Emphasis is also placed through the entire year on the importance of work in the community at large, as well as the need for greater participation in politics and in community affairs.

Students are assigned to garment centers in various parts of the country for their field work. They are given the opportunity to observe at first hand the work of business agents and

*Future leaders must know the industry. Here they learn something about making of ladies' clothing*



managers, the operation of impartial chairman machinery where it exists, and procedures followed in securing union recognition. All students are also expected to secure some first-hand experience in organizing as a part of their field training.

Applicants for admission to the I.L.G.W.U. Training Institute must be between the ages of 21 to 35, with at least a high school education or its equivalent. All students are carefully screened to give assurance of their devotion to the objectives of the labor movement. Preference is given to applicants with previous union and industry experience. All applicants accepted for admission to the Institute have the assurance of positions with the I.L.G.W.U. on satisfactory completion of the course.

Those who are accepted for admission to the Training Institute are not required to pay tuition fees but do provide for their own subsistence during the period of school (seven months) in New York City. A subsistence allowance is made by the I.L.G.W.U. to students assigned to union offices outside the New York City area during the field training period of five months.

The desire not to discourage rank-and-file members from applying because of financial difficulties has led

the international and a number of our larger local unions to offer scholarships to I.L.G.W.U. members who are approved for admission to the Institute but do not have the resources to defray the expenses of the year's training. Financial assistance is also extended to non-member students who may require it to enable them to complete the program.

Twenty-seven students—twenty-four men and three women—entered employment of the international in May of 1951. Eight of this first group now hold positions which call for part-time servicing of members in shops combined with part-time organizing. Four members of the group are doing educational or publicity work. Thirteen are devoting the bulk of their time and attention to organizing the unorganized in our industry.

Two members of this first group of graduates left union service during the first year—actually a smaller percentage of drop-outs than we had anticipated.

All students admitted to the Institute enter with the understanding that they will accept employment wherever they are assigned at the end of the year's training. Graduates of the first class, therefore, are now working for the international in garment

centers located in sixteen states scattered from the Pacific to the Atlantic and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. In actual practice, every effort is made to place the student so as to reconcile as nearly as possible his own preferences and abilities with the personnel needs of the international.

Although we expect that the proportion of union members from the industry will increase in future classes, applicants who are members of other unions or young people who may not have had the opportunity to join unions but who are otherwise qualified will continue to be eligible for admittance to the Institute.

Our policy governing selection of students may be seen in the fact that in the first graduating class there were ten I.L.G.W.U. members, three active members of other unions, nine sons and daughters of I.L.G.W.U. members and five students who had not been members of any union. Fourteen of this group were college graduates, while thirteen were high school graduates or had one or two years of college training when they entered the Institute.

From the very inception of the Training Institute it was recognized that its success would depend largely on the atti- (Continued on Page 30)

*Public speaking is a subject to which considerable time is given. Talks are recorded and criticized*



# They Work for Pennies

By ERNESTO GALARZA

*Research and Education Director, National Farm Labor Union*



*Two 'wets' in U.S. They labor at cut rates*

**F**OR the first time in the history of agriculture in the United States, organized labor has a voice in determining policies affecting the nation's farm workers.

On March 31 an Advisory Committee composed of nine A. F. of L. and an equal number of C.I.O. representatives met in Washington to advise the Department of Labor and the U.S. Employment Service on policies affecting agricultural workers.

This committee was appointed after strong protests were filed by President Green and other A. F. of L. officials against the operations of a "Special Farm Labor Committee," made up of large-scale farm operators, who for the past four years have been determining policies of the Employment Service relative to the importation of large numbers of Mexican nationals to work in American mass-production agriculture at shamefully low wages. This group of large-scale operators, naturally enough, has worked hard to advance the selfish pecuniary interests of the powerful corporation farm employers.

A. F. of L. members of the new

committee, appointed by Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, are President H. L. Mitchell of the National Farm Labor Union, Patrick E. Gorman, J. L. Rhodes, C. J. Haggerty, Lewis G. Hines, Frank Tobin, Hank Hasiwar, Leon B. Schachter and Sidney Brennan.

The new committee has drawn up a series of recommendations and submitted them to the Department of Labor. The Secretary of Labor has said that these recommendations will be given full consideration.

FROM July 1, 1951, to March 1, 1952, the U.S. Immigration Service reports, 343,700 illegal aliens from Mexico were apprehended and deported. Of this number, 17,300 were arrested while employed in trades, crafts and industries other than agriculture.

A million wetbacks were successful in slipping past the Border Patrol. These wetbacks are now working as bootleg labor in the United States. From the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and the Imperial Valley of California—the two major reservoirs of this underground tide of cheap labor—the

wetbacks from Mexico flow over the South and West and penetrate into the industrial centers of the Middle West and the East.

American agricultural workers know what the illegal alien can do to the wage structure. The Mexican wetback, a fugitive from the law, takes whatever he is offered—25 cents an hour for weeding and harvesting work, 50 cents an hour for truck or tractor driving. Wetbacks have been discovered working on non-union construction jobs, doing skilled work for a fraction of the established union rates of pay.

A. F. of L. unions in California have found that a wetback will do a job for \$15 when the union scale for the same job calls for \$40.

Throughout 1951 California labor contractors operated an immense labor pool of illegals from which the corporation farms drew freely. In the upper San Joaquin Valley about 25 per cent of the tomato crop was harvested by wetbacks—a fact openly acknowledged, with gratification, by corporation farm spokesmen. During the harvest there were no Immigration Service raids on the toma-

to crews. Today the food markets and grocery stores of the United States are stocked with cans of fruits and vegetables, including baby food, that were harvested by a million exploited illegals.

The wetback is the anvil on which American farm wages are being flattened out. The hammer is the Mexican "contract national."

Last year some 190,000 contractees were brought in under Public Law 78. Of these, 38,000 were hired in California. Public Law 78, a corporation farm measure, made federal funds available for the transportation of nationals to this country. Because of the discriminatory character of that law, President Truman signed it "with great reluctance," demanding that immediate steps be taken by Congress to suppress the traffic in illegals. In view of what happened between February and December of 1951, Public Law 78 may well be described as "the reluctant rape of three million American farm workers."

The nationals brought in last year became in fact the supplementary mobile task forces to freeze or batter down U.S. farm wages. It is estimated that 20,000 to 25,000 contractees jumped their contracts once they entered the United States and thus automatically became illegals.

Thus, by ways that are strange and devices that are peculiar, American workers, through their taxes, are subsidizing an unlawful and wide-flung attack on hard-won U.S. standards of wages and employment conditions.

Official sources have already let it be known that the program for 1952 calls for certifications for 73,700 nationals for California alone.

Unless the recommendations of labor's new committee on farm placement calling for public hearings to determine need and prevailing wages are followed, the shameful pattern of previous years will be repeated.

In 1951, as on earlier occasions, the wages of the Mexican workers were determined by associations of corporation farmers and then given the stamp of approval by government officials in Washington and Mexico City. In 1951 these wages were from 25 to 40 per cent below the wages that American agricultural workers find barely adequate for subsistence.

Slashing of wages already far too low is the main purpose of the Mexican farm labor recruitment program.

Few sectors of the American economy have received a more generous handout from the federal government than the mass-production farms. Productivity on these farms has increased, but the gap between farm and industrial wages has widened to the point where it represents a difference of about 60 per cent.

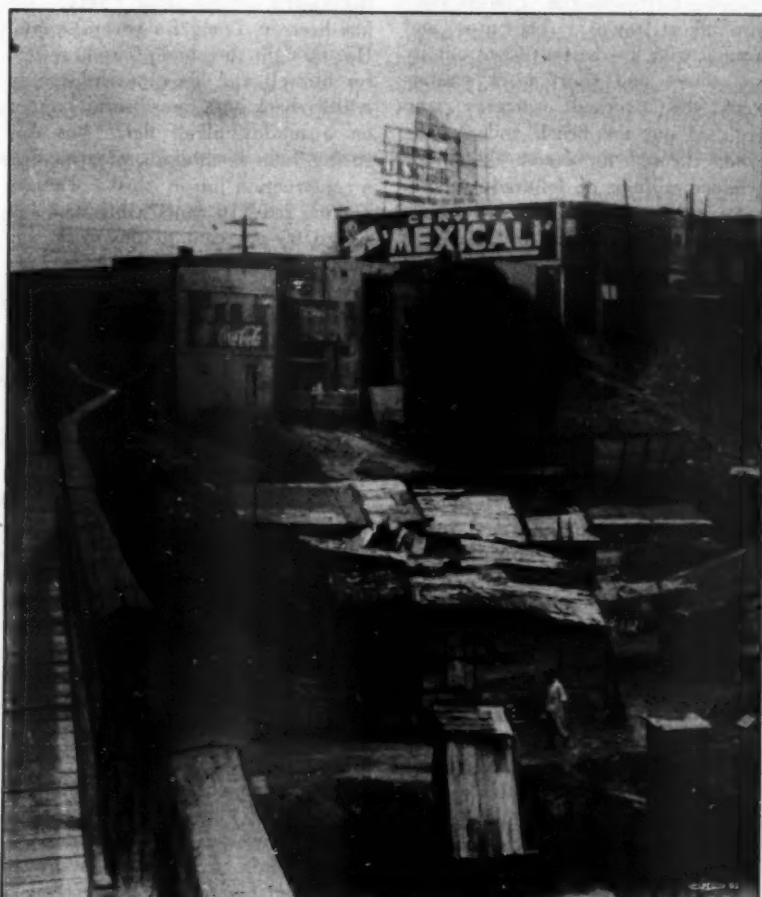
All the misleading claims that nationals are paid prevailing wages and that they are brought into the United States only because of dire scarcities of domestic manpower cannot conceal the fact that the wages of agricultural workers have been nailed fast to the floor while the cost of living has ballooned higher and higher.

Last year Mexican nationals were paid 60 cents an hour in California's Imperial Valley. This year's contracts fixed the hourly rate at 70 cents. In the Salinas Valley the nationals have been working for 72 and 82 cents an hour. To these rates the domestic workers must adjust themselves, like it or not. Farmers in the San Joaquin Valley who

four and five years ago were paying 90 cents and \$1 an hour to American farm workers have been able to obtain nationals at 75 and 80 cents.

Hourly rates have been frozen or cut back. But that's not all. Working time has been reduced. For example, domestic workers who formerly were able to put in five or six hours topping carrots are often through for the day after a couple of hours in the fields. Last fall and winter members of the National Farm Labor Union who worked in carrots, lettuce, broccoli and onions were frequently reduced to workweeks of 12, 15 and 20 hours. By coincidence, many Mexican nationals complained of limited workweeks of about the same earning time.

Less obvious is the fact that nationals are used to wipe out wage differentials for different types of operations in large-scale, mechanized farming. The national is classified as an agricultural worker; and Congress, under political pressure, has widened the definition of agricultural



*Just below the border. After sundown the illegals slip into the U.S.*

labor. This makes it possible for growers to pay a given wage—say 75 cents—for tasks as distinct as weeding, loading, sorting, harvesting, irrigating, tractor driving and maintenance.

Last fall nationals working for 82½ cents an hour as lettuce cutters in the morning were regularly used as packers and sorters in the afternoon at the same wages. Onion sorters and sackers in the Imperial Valley worked a shift in the sheds at 60 cents an hour after finishing an earlier shift as pickers in the fields at the same wage.

The national is in fact a handyman who is hired at a flat rate to do whatever chores may be assigned to him "around the place." The "place" may be the state of California.

The displacement of the domestic worker is an equally direct result of the Mexican national recruitment program. In the Rio Grande and Imperial Valleys, displacement has reached a critical stage. Entire communities have withered or faded away into ghost towns. The men and women who are being forced out by low wages and short work seasons were the original *braceros* who grubbed out the brush and cut the canals through the deserts that today produce millions of dollars in wealth.

From Brownsville to San Diego stretches a 2,000-mile arc of adobe communities, shanty towns and tent camps out of which old resident families silently and sullenly steal northward, and into which as silently and fearfully steal the Mexican illegals and nationals who have undercut their wages and living conditions.

The Mexican community of Lamont, twenty miles from Bakersfield, California, is a growing haven of these refugees from Texas and Southern California. On its sandy soil four years ago there were a dozen makeshift shacks and tents. Today there are several hundred displaced families on this subdivision.

An individual case is that of Pablo Cruz of Richgrove, a bleak community on the edge of the domains of the DiGiorgio and Schenley corporations near Delano. Pablo is married, has a couple of children, is a war veteran and helps support his mother.

He lost his job and his home on one of the nearby ranches when na-

*Long an exploited group, America's farm workers find their plight worsened by the foreign wage-cutters*



tionals began to arrive in large numbers. Now he travels to Salinas and Santa Clara—200 miles from home—to keep his family together.

Juan Guerrero has been moving northward longer than Pablo. He has been in Tracy for several years. He thought he had found refuge for himself and his nine children in a little shack built out of scrap lumber on a muddy alkali flat. But this spring Juan is thinking of accepting a construction job in Alaska. Tomato picking paid 16 cents a box last fall—and 85 per cent of the work was done by illegals and nationals. He saw dozens of families of domestic tomato pickers turned away from the labor camps of his community last October.

Their places were taken by nationals certified for tomato picking on account of the alleged acute shortage of manpower.

A neighbor of Guerrero's, Ralph Guillen, has been around the tomato country for ten years. Ralph is more than sixty years old and he thinks this will be his last year in California. He has heard stories of work in Oregon. In the meantime he shares a tent with another part-time domestic farm worker. The tent is pitched under a tree on the edge of a tomato patch.

The same condition prevailed in the Salinas Valley last year. Local resident workers, singly and in groups, were fired right out of the fields immediately on the arrival of contract nationals from Mexico. One

group of twelve residents of Sole dad, the heart of the Salinas "salad bowl," was fired in this manner. The members of this group—some of them veterans with combat service records—have scattered. Some are in Colorado. Some are in Northern California. One left word he was moving to Washington State.

Indeed, Washington is receiving some of the backwash of this human displacement. Recently Bishop J. P. Dougherty, in a forthright statement, called attention to conditions among the agricultural workers of Washington's Yakima Valley. The roots of this condition are deep. They run the length of the Pacific Coast to the Mexican border.

**N**OT THE least effect on domestic farm labor of the Mexican recruitment program is that this program has strengthened the hand of the private labor contractor, whose role as contact man for the corporation farmers is notorious.

It is generally the contractor who manipulates the mixed crews of illegals and nationals. It is he who clips the take-home pay of these mixed crews. It is the contractor who, with a surplus of nationals and illegals on hand, offers occasional work to the domestic workers on an "or else" basis.

Even without the wetbacks and the nationals, the organization of American agricultural workers is a difficult task. But with the additional handicap of a political combination

against him—a powerful machine that operates from state capitals to Washington and thence to Mexico City—the problems of the harassed American farm worker become really rough.

The authorized use of 5,000 nationals last year in the Imperial Valley strike is one example of what American farm workers are up against.

The brutal fact is that it is possible for a legitimate, legal, authorized strike of organized workers in the United States to be broken by government-sponsored strikebreakers from Mexico.

The violation of the international agreement and the individual work contracts is notorious. Over a year ago the Farm Labor Union filed charges against Frank O'Dwyer and Keith Mets, Imperial Valley growers, for violation of the agreement. O'Dwyer is the brother of Ambassador William O'Dwyer. These charges were never publicly aired.

Aware that a public hearing under judicial procedures is one of the bulwarks of an American citizen's Constitutional rights, the N.F.L.U. has repeatedly asked for such hearings from the State, Labor and Justice Departments. To date, no such hearings have been held. Not a single documented charge made by the union of wage-cutting or displacement by the use of nationals has been properly investigated and reported.

To be sure, city unemployment, dramatized by industrial unions, has become the object of research and investigation by teams of federal officials. But the smear of farm labor displacement, which blots the entire Pacific Coast, is either cautiously denied or discreetly ignored.

If the farm workers of this country can pin little hope on the State Department, even less can they expect from Congress as now controlled.

With the exception of a handful of informed and aroused Senators and Representatives, both wings of Congress—with respect to the problems of domestic farm labor—are snugly folded in a cozy coalition of bipartisan reactionaries. From Ellender of Louisiana to Nixon of California, there runs an axis of power that steamrollers through every major piece of legislation demanded by the corporation farmers of the South and Southwest.

The wetback law recently passed

by both houses by no means fulfills the solemn promises made by Senator Ellender and Congressman Poage to the Mexican government in 1951. It was ramrodded through the Senate and House, taking the friends of labor by surprise. Congress has cut the appropriations of the Border Patrol, whose assignment is as vital as it is dangerous.

The policy of the Mexican government has been an effective backstop for the battery of the corporation farmers' teams, with Senator Ellender of Louisiana pitching and Congressman Poage of Texas catching. Repeated threats of the Mexican government to guard the border with troops to prevent line-jumping have never been carried out.

The Alemán administration had also stated flatly that it would not permit more nationals to come to this country unless a stringent and effective wetback law was passed by Congress. But in the Senate debate on this bill, Southern Senators, including Ellender, lashed the Alemán government for its own failures to stop the illegals.

That is the situation that the American farm workers are up against. It reflects the weight that the corporation

farmers and their helpers in Congress can throw around.

The growers' associations maintain a modest front of dirt farmers and overall homesteaders. Behind this front they hire wetbacks in open defiance of the law. They hire their own contractors to play the role of "representatives" of the Mexican nationals. They indignantly refuse American agricultural workers a written contract, but they quickly sign one with an alien because they know they can violate it with impunity.

And behind this front, the dislodgement and disfranchisement of American farm workers, economically and politically, goes on.

It works in favor of the Associated Farmers and their friends in government and diplomacy that some of these conditions are so incredible. Being so far out of line with common notions of decency in human relations and responsibility in economic dealings of employer and employee, public opinion in and out of the labor movement has been reluctant to believe that it's really so.

But the situation raises fundamental issues that spread beyond the immediate bread-and-butter problems of the farm (*Continued on Page 29*)

## 25 Years Ago in the FEDERATIONIST

**T**HREE can be no compromise between two opposing philosophies when one aggressively proposes the destruction of all institutions founded upon the other. Communism is not only at variance with everything which trade unions advocate, but it seeks their overthrow as a step in realization of its own program.

RADIO broadcasting has served many interests since its inception and, last but not least, it has become an educative and co-ordinative factor in the organized labor movement. The Chicago Federation of Labor laid the foundation and successfully resisted all opposition to secure the right for organized labor to own and operate a radio broadcasting station, and the proof of this statement is in Station WCFL, "The Voice of Labor," located on the Municipal Pier in Chicago.

THOSE interested in installment buying seem to think it has come to stay. Undoubtedly it has been influential in bringing about our present prosperity. On the other hand, it involves certain dangers, both to the consumer and to the healthy condition of our business structure, if it is misused.

IF BUSINESS is to succeed in the United States in the next few years, attention must be paid to eliminating waste and preventing fluctuations. The only sure test of prosperity is for every wage-earner to continue to have work and wages throughout the year.

THE WOMEN'S auxiliaries are at present the best medium in the field for the education of the women and children of trade unionists. The labor movement has always recognized how important such work is, how valuable a force might be created in a sympathetic group of wives, mothers, sisters and daughters.

THE ESSENCE of conferring is to make a social approach to a problem by getting all the parties to it to look at it questioningly, each being disposed to accept some change in his present view. Any group in dispute should have someone present who is specially charged to keep the members apprised of what is really happening as the discussion moves on.

IF THE calling which occupies the major portion of man's waking hours is made a means of growth and larger capacity for service, there is a greater probability of cultural use of leisure. It is in their use of leisure that workers find themselves in circles sharing in the common life of the community.

# Today's Labor Frontier

## The 'White

## Collar' Field



By PAUL R. HUTCHINGS

President, *Office Employees International Union*

MR. HUTCHINGS

THE FRONTIER of the American labor movement is the 15,000,000 white-collar workers of the United States. That's the challenge to American labor. That's where it must concentrate its energy and its strength. Less than 2,000,000 of the 15,000,000 white-collar workers are members of labor unions. These workers need organized labor, and organized labor needs them."

Thus spoke Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin in addressing the convention of one of the largest white-collar unions in the A. F. of L. last summer.

The serious plight of white-collar workers has been the subject of much comment, but few have been the public figures who have so frankly pointed out the fact that the real solution to the economic problems of the white-collar worker lies in his turning toward trade union organization

and accepting trade union principles.

What is a "white-collar worker"? This misleading and elusive term has come to denote that portion of our working force who do not wear "blue collars" or overalls. It refers to the person who is not considered as a part of the production and maintenance force—the so-called "non-manual" worker who none the less must frequently rely on manual dexterity and neuro-muscular coordination in order to do his or her job.

In the broad category of white-collar workers fall such diversified groups as stenographers, teachers, musicians, social service workers, bookkeepers, draftsmen, journalists, telephone operators, salesmen, engineers, clerks and many others.

Although some white-collar groups are presently well organized, such as the musicians, actors, railway clerks, postal employees and others,

still it is a cold fact that today approximately 85 per cent of the country's 15,000,000 white-collar workers are unorganized.

What has been happening to the unorganized white-collar workers? They have been taking a beating. One U.S. government official has recently estimated that the white-collar worker today is earning only 6 per cent more in real wages than he earned in 1939. The factory worker, on the other hand, has a real income today which is almost 50 per cent more than it was in 1939.

What is responsible for this great difference? For the failure of the white-collar worker to stride forward with steps at least equal to those of his factory-working brother? The answer is lack of organization.

The American white-collar worker, exclusive of the 2,000,000 who are organized, is paying dearly for his

lack of organization. Writing in a recent issue of the Labor Department's *Information Bulletin*, Secretary of Labor Tobin estimated that just during the eighteen-month period from January, 1950, through last June, 20,000,000 unorganized American workers had lost more than three billion dollars in purchasing power!

A large portion of this enormous loss necessarily was borne by the 13,000,000 unorganized employees in the white-collar groups.

Office and clerical employees in commercial and industrial offices form a large portion of the white-collar group. It is to the organization of these working people that the Office Employees International Union is dedicated. Bringing the benefits of trade unionism to this vast array of stenographers, bookkeepers, typists, clerks, office machine operators and others who man the office nerve-centers of American and Canadian businesses and industries of all types is a gigantic task.

OFFICE and clerical employees historically have been considered difficult to organize. Organizational techniques tested and proved sound among other workers are not effective and sometimes even boomerang if used in organizing campaigns among office employees.

The halo of dignity and distinction which has been wrapped around office employment has resulted in the development of attitudes and feelings which must be carefully unsnarled if office workers are to be freed of their fears and have a real opportunity to grow and fill their proper place in the American labor scene.

The office worker is generally opposed to anything which might offend his boss or might cause a loss of his prestige and importance. He is constantly working in much closer proximity to management than the production and maintenance worker. He is frequently considered an extension of management—serving to handle the myriad of record keeping, communication and other details which we have come to refer to as office and clerical work.

The clerical worker is most unwilling to relinquish his closeness with management. He is opposed to anything which might destroy his identity as an individual. When, as

frequently happens, management short-sightedly fails to see the mutual benefits which can come from having a well-organized office team—free from the fears of inadequate salaries, job insecurity, lack of promotional opportunity—the office worker at first frequently reflects management's opposition.

It is only when we can convince the office employees that organization will supply them with a real vehicle through which they can gain self-expression, which will promote the true best interests of the company and at the same time gain for the employees a more adequate return in dollars for the services which they perform, free them from their fears of insecurity and provide a means of amicably settling office problems, that they come to accept the principle of organization.

The employer must be educated, too. We must convince him of our interest in the success of his enterprise, of the fact that through organization his clerical staff will have greatly increased opportunity for self-expression, for growth, for the development of leadership, and that the extension of democratic principles to the office will give his employees a voice in the industrial community.

We must bring the employer to recognize that when the office workers participate in the making of democratic decisions concerning their working conditions with the firm, they develop a greater stake in the company's welfare. They come to

realize that if they are to prosper, the company must first prosper. This adds new zest to their work.

The office employees come to recognize themselves as part of the team, and that by working harder there will be more benefits for them to share in.

As office workers awaken to their need for organization, they find that they want their own organization. They do not want to be swallowed up in the pattern and policies worked out by workers of other trades, but desire to develop their own organizational identity and their own approaches to the solution of their office problems. The Office Employees International Union provides them with this vehicle.

Our more than 250 self-governing local unions presently functioning throughout the United States and Canada hold agreements with more than 600 commercial and industrial establishments covering about 40,000 members spread from Newfoundland to San Diego and from Vancouver to Miami.

Organization begets further organization. As the unorganized office workers in a community learn of the benefits won by the organized employees of another company, they awaken to the possibilities of using the trade union method to improve their own salaries and conditions.

Each year many new clerical units organize and associate themselves with our international union where, through the application of trade un-



*The office worker has not matched factory workers' economic gains*



*The organized worker is efficient and gives full value to her firm*

ion principles, they work out their economic destiny at the collective bargaining table.

During the past year clerical staffs of numerous large and important industrial concerns have turned to O.E.I.U. organization. The more than 400 office and clerical employes of the Worthington Pump Company's large Buffalo works recently organized in our Local 212, despite the fact that the production and maintenance workers of this plant are represented by one of the large C.I.O. unions, which was also interested in organizing the clerical staff. The issue here was clear-cut. By N.L.R.B. secret ballot the office staff showed its desire to be represented by a union devoted exclusively to the problems of office and clerical workers.

The big B-36 bomber plant of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation at Fort Worth, Texas, was also the scene of a recent clerical organization victory for the O.E.I.U. The more than 1,500 members of the office staff of that company turned to the O.E.I.U. last summer and voted in an N.L.R.B. election to seek better employment conditions through O.E.I.U. bargaining representation.

Other significant clerical groups in the U.S. recently brought under the O.E.I.U. banner include the clerical staffs of such companies as the Capi-

tal Transit Company at Washington, D.C.; the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company at Utica, New York; the Kennecott Copper Corporation at Bingham Canyon, Utah, the A. P. Controls Corporation at Milwaukee, the Cities Service Refining Corporation administrative office at Lake Charles, Louisiana; the Abercombie and Fitch department store in New York City and the Permanente Hospitals at Vallejo and San Francisco, California.

We mention these diversified units to give some indication of the spread of clerical organization, both geographically and through various industries.

In Canada well over one-half of the clerical staffs in that country's dominant paper and pulp industry have selected the O.E.I.U. as their bargaining representative and are enjoying improved pay and outstanding working conditions.

Our organization in Canada is not limited to the clerical staffs in this industry alone. The clerical employes of the Dominion Wabana Ore Company, Ltd., of Bell Island, lying off the north coast of Newfoundland, heard about the O.E.I.U. and are presently enjoying collec-

tive bargaining benefits through their O.E.I.U. local union on that remote island. The clerical staffs of the Niagara Hydro Electric construction project have organized an O.E.I.U. local and have obtained substantial improvements in their wages and working conditions.

Other recent Canadian organization has included the office staffs of Canadian Iron Foundries of Three Rivers, Quebec, and the Dominion Foils Company in the same city, the St. Lawrence Alloys plant at Beauharnois, Quebec, the Comstock Engineering Company at Toronto and many more.

The gigantic task of our international union is to hold fast to the principles upon which our organization was founded and continue to provide office staffs of all industries in both countries with a genuine opportunity to improve their economic well-being through collective bargaining and still preserve and promote their identity.

Each day additional clerical staffs, searching for the answer to their economic problems and learning of the results already obtained by other clerical groups, turn toward the O.E.I.U. as the solution. As our organization grows physically it is also growing in stature.

We are gaining valuable experience and developing skilled representatives capable of assisting newly organized clerical groups in effectively meeting their specific office problems.

The need for developing adequate research and educational services is not being *(Continued on Page 31)*



*Men as well as women belong to O.E.I.U.*

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# There Is No Alternative

By **CHARLES J. MACGOWAN**

*Vice-President, American Federation of Labor*

*We present herewith excerpts from the timely and important remarks of Brother MacGowan at last month's Conference of General Chairmen, A. F. of L. Railway Employees Department. The conference of leaders of railroad labor was held in Chicago. Brother MacGowan is president of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. He has given many years of service to the trade union movement.*

I HAVE been asked to discuss with you today the importance of political action by all of us and by all of our members. At the outset, permit me to recall to your memory the fact that most organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have carried in their constitutions, for a long number of years, a double-barreled prohibition against (a) the discussion of politics and (b) the discussion of religious subjects, in the local union.

All of us have respected that prohibition, but developments in recent years have compelled us to introduce politics into our entire trade union movement because the Taft-Hartley Act and similar legislation, both federal and state, have catapulted us into politics whether we like it or not.

The American Federation of Labor, since the days of the late revered President Gompers, has had a non-partisan political policy but, except in a few isolated areas, no serious consideration was given to it. However, the passage of recent legislation has compelled every working man in the country to give serious consideration to all political questions.

Let us review history for a short time. After the modern labor movement was born, practically our only method of securing advancement was by the use of the strike weapon. After a time reactionary employers found various ways to defeat us on the economic field. They introduced the injunction, the yellow-dog contract, damage suits and other procedures.

By the employers' use of supine and labor-hating judges, where they could be found, we were steadily losing the battle to improve our conditions.

Finally, labor turned to the legislative arm of our government. The Railway Labor Act of 1924 was enacted. It rendered little service to the railway men because an unfriendly national administration appointed men to the Mediation Board who ignored the spirit of the law, if not the text thereof.

In 1934 the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed, which was hailed as "the Magna Carta of Labor"; and in the same year the Railway Labor Act was amended to make it of real service to the railway workers. A fair administration appointed members of the Mediation Board and of the Emergency Boards, referees and others having to do with the administration of the Railway Labor Act, with the result that in the last eighteen years railroad labor has made greater gains than in all of its previous history.

WE CAME to 1946, and reactionary industry moved out into the political field with a well-organized, well-financed campaign. The wage-earners of the country were caught fast asleep, a hostile Congress was elected and the Taft-Hartley Act was adopted. The passage of this law virtually destroyed the entire Wagner Act.

Even though there are evidences everywhere of its wicked provisions, the full impact of the Taft-Hartley

Act has not yet been felt and will not be felt until a recession occurs and its attendant breadlines begin to form. Only surface indications are in evidence.

Just the other day the Supreme Court of the United States sustained a lower court decision, fining an organization of longshoremen and warehousemen in Alaska \$750,000 for conducting an alleged illegal strike. The fact that the organization involved is Communist-led does not change the fact that if they can legally do it to that organization, they can likewise impose it on the most conservative labor organization.

A few experiences of that kind would break the treasuries of every international union in the country, and if this nation should unhappily witness another period of hard times, then the power and the might of Taft-Hartley would move in for its revenge.

A lot of our railroad boys are a little too smug or indifferent to the passage of Taft-Hartley, reasoning that the Railway Labor Act protects them. Well, I do not agree with that reasoning for a moment. If the Wagner Act could be destroyed, the same forces could destroy the Railway Labor Act, the Railroad Retirement Act, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, and an unfriendly administration could appoint hostile members on Emergency Boards as referees and arbitrators. They could destroy the Mediation Board. They could reduce (Continued on Page 31)

# EDITORIALS

*by William Green*

## *This Year's Elections*

OUR REGULAR Presidential elections are always pivotal events preceded by long periods filled with speculation and intense activity on the part of candidates and their friends. As our nation has grown in influence, our elections have aroused worldwide concern, for other nations also have interests at stake.

The whole body of American citizens of all parties should approach their responsibility of participation mindful of the consequences of decisions to which their votes will contribute at home and internationally—for peace or for war, for continued progress or for the wiping out of major civilizations. The first requirement for performance of this duty is registration.

Under our political institutions, sovereignty or ultimate political power rests in the people themselves. We, the citizens, select representatives to serve us as agents in the several functions and responsibilities of government. The qualities which our representatives should have, we well know, include competence, integrity, dependability, reverence for free institutions and responsibility for making good on party and personal pledges.

It is not practically possible for every voter to study through the details in the complicated and closely interrelated proposals that political parties make on manifold national and international problems upon which our nation must take action. We must leave decisions to our chosen representatives who, if they have the qualities needed for service, will make wise and honest decisions. But citizens must decide upon the goals and the broad general policies, for these determine our way of life.

Individual rights are the foundation of all human freedom. They provide opportunity for freedom of thought, worship, action for individual welfare, protection against arbitrary arrest and punishment, security of privacy and private property, assurance of undelegated rights to the people.

We have differences of opinion on how to safeguard these liberties, but we do not differ on the goal. Elections are one of our ways for resolving these differences of opinion. After we select our representatives, whose fitness becomes known through addresses, discussions and their past records, we delegate to them responsibility for action and decision for the maintenance of our American way of life.

On the people of this republic rests the duty of knowing what their representatives are doing in fulfilling commitments and safeguarding and advancing our institutions. When citizens become informed and serious enough, we can expect government to act in the interests of all the people—guided by moral standards and well-based decisions. Now is the time for renewed action by all American Federation of Labor members.

## *Stalin's New Strategy*

WE HAVE frequently reminded our readers that Stalin is conducting two campaigns against Western civilization. His military campaign, with actual fighting, continues in Asia; and his diplomatic war, for control of Europe, also continues. The latter has recently taken a new turn and has caught many people by surprise.

On March 10 the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister handed the heads of British, French and American embassies a note proposing a conference of Foreign Ministers to draft a German peace treaty. According to published information, Stalin proposes reunification of the territory now included in the Eastern and Western zones of Germany, restoration of the rights of sovereignty and the return of civil rights to former servicemen and Nazis—thus ending the denazification program and economic restrictions.

This proposal and the Moscow Economic Conference probably initiate moves to restore prewar economic exchange and trade channels between Eastern Europe and Western Europe in order to bring Western Europe into the U.S.S.R. orbit. Prewar Germany was the key to European trade and exchange for many years, and the Germans are technically able to recover that position if freed from restrictions.

The Kremlin is advancing its proposals as steps to counteract the gains made by Western Europe. Global balance of power is properly the aim of countries concerned for world peace. The restoration of sovereignty and resulting economic progress in Japan and Germany, thus flanking the U.S.S.R. with effective resistance to aggression, are essential to the containment of the Soviets within their pre-1941 borders.

The General Assembly of the United Nations provided for a mission to make simultaneous inquiries into the feasibility of holding a general German election by secret balloting in Western Germany, Eastern Germany and Berlin. That mission went to Bonn but was blocked by Soviet failure to give permission to enter the Soviet zone. Such a German election must precede negotiations.

Representatives of the Western Powers meeting in Paris, together with Dr. Adenauer of the Bonn Federal Republic, are reported to have agreed to reply to Moscow that the proposed German election must precede negotiation of the peace treaty.

Decision on Germany is crucial, for Germany is the strategic spot for consolidation of continental power.

*The Times* of London observes editorially that the Soviet note must be taken seriously because it claims to offer a practical alternative to the inclusion of Western Germany in NATO which makes division of

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Germany permanent. The proposal is to make a united Germany, independent, with power to protect itself and free of Allied armies.

As we have learned in Korea, preparation for military action must not be slowed during negotiations.

Skillful, vigilant and well-informed diplomats can hold firmly the gains already made by democratic Western European nations while at the same time meeting the national aspirations of both Austria and Germany.

The primary objective of the Kremlin remains unchanged—world conquest. The freedoms offered Germany would be short-lived but would give Stalin time to destroy the Atlantic community.

Effective protection is the best guarantee against aggression.

## An Economic Revolution

**A**GREAT economic change with basic social consequences has been in progress within our nation as accompaniment to great technical and managerial changes. The incomes of most of those who are paid wages and small salaries have been steadily rising. Millions of persons have moved from lower income groups to higher brackets. A steadily increasing national product has been translated into higher standards of living.

A study by the National Bureau of Economic Research reports the following facts indicative of this economic revolution. At the beginning of the Forties, one family out of ten had an income of \$3000 or over, while at the end of the decade one out of every two received that much. In 1941 one family out of every forty-five received \$5000 or over, but by 1949 one out of every six was in this class.

Families with incomes of \$1000 or less were one in every two in 1936; twelve years later the ratio was one in ten. Families with \$1000 and over increased from one in five to nearly three out of four. Families with incomes over \$10,000 rose from one in 100 to one in twenty-five. In 1939 not one wage-earner out of fifty had an income of \$5000 or more, but ten years later one out of every five was in that class.

The greatest gains in wage and salary incomes were made by the lowest income groups. The top third of families, those with highest incomes, lost ground to the middle and lowest thirds. The lowest third gained—relatively—twice as much as the middle group. The share of the upper one per cent has declined in thirty-five years from 16 per cent of total national income to 9 per cent.

The income of this group includes income from property as well as salaries. Income from property has declined.

As union organization increases in strength, union workers set new goals for collective bargaining to increase their share in the nation's wealth. From 1919 to 1929 unions were weak; factory workers increased their real wages 19½ per cent. Between 1929 and 1938 there was growth in union organization and the real hourly wages increased 38 per cent. During the next twelve years government controls,

taxes and inflation lowered the real wage increase down to 12 per cent.

Three-fourths of increased productivity from our efficient, highly technical economy has been widely distributed, bringing higher living standards for millions of people. Total income has increased as a result of increasing national production facilities and higher productivity. No group benefits simply by taking from another group, but by helping to create and to share greater output, the operations of free enterprise have not only increased the shares of all contributing groups but provided the capital for expansion of production facilities. Free enterprise, or what collectivists call capitalism, has given our nation the greatest national income in the world's history, with less difference between the shares of all groups.

## Korea Not Forgotten

**T**HE UNITED STATES still has armed forces facing enemy gunfire in Korea. By what seems mutual agreement, practically all metropolitan dailies have taken Korean battle news off the front page with the exception of special casualties or incidents. But the Korean war is not forgotten by home groups anxious over dear ones who are close to the battle line and daily face disability or death. These home groups want reports on the progress of the fighting in Korea.

In this combat our troops have not been permitted to fight for military decision but have been restricted by a controlling committee of nations, some members of which have not sent troops to maintain the principles of the United Nations Charter. Under the truce talks instituted by the decision of the United Nations, active fighting slowed down when there seemed to be a genuine effort to reach an agreement on acceptable provisions. But when proposals and discussion became obviously only camouflage for a Communist build-up of forces and reserves, aggressive fighting began again. Military strength is always a powerful argument for real negotiation.

The Chinese Communists, the Kremlin's satellite nearest Korea, are bearing the brunt of actual fighting on the Communist side, while Communist Russia supplies guns, munitions, planes, etc. Supplying Communist China with the tools of war has been a heavy drain on Soviet reserves and doubtless has interrupted Soviet preparations for further aggression. The Korean war has definitely affected global strategy.

Our troops in Korea have demonstrated resourcefulness and fighting will and ability. Experience under fire makes them more dependable in new emergencies and for further military service as needed.

We suggest that the nation's daily newspapers return to the front page at least a summary of events in the Korean war. We should be constantly reminded that in Korea our citizens are each day risking their lives to block Communist aggression. Our fighting men in Korea are exacting a heavy toll, which reduces proportionately the ability of the Communists to overpower other nations. The daily press ought not to ignore even for one day a war in which our citizens are fighting. Readers of daily papers will appreciate the service.

# PROSPERITY FOR WHOM?

By BERT SEIDMAN

Member, A. F. of L. Research Staff

**A**LL the current talk about so-called "high wages" and "defense prosperity" has a very hollow ring for the hundreds of thousands of families in this country whose breadwinners are still forced to work at extremely low wages.

There is much discussion in newspapers and magazines of the tremendous strides which the American economy has made in the past twenty years, and much of it is certainly justified. We have made substantial progress in this country. Through gains won by union organization and progressive social and economic legislation, the living standard of most workers has gradually improved.

But the advances which have undoubtedly been made should not blind us to the fact that there are still many families in this country whose incomes are so low that the American standard of living is for them but an empty dream.

Some of these people are among the 2,000,000 unemployed. Others, unable to work because of old age, physical or mental handicaps, are forced to eke out their lives on meager relief allotments or social security benefits.

These individuals by no means represent the total low-income group in the United States. There are many able-bodied Americans in full-time jobs working at shamefully inadequate wages. It is a regrettable fact that there are far too many industries in this country in which wages are so low that their employees are unable to maintain a decent standard of living.

Many of these workers are in service and trade industries. For example, the average laundry worker in December, 1951, received only \$38.39 in his weekly pay envelope. Employees in general merchandise stores did even worse; their weekly wage was only \$36.92. Even this was a little better than the earnings of hotel workers, who averaged only \$36.76.

While many workers in the service

and trade industries are notoriously underpaid, quite a number of manufacturing industries also belong on the same ill-starred list. Here are some examples of average weekly earnings in low-wage manufacturing industries in December, 1951:

Tobacco stemming and redrying	\$38.39
Seamless hosiery	39.55
Work shirts	32.15
Household apparel	39.14
Curtains and draperies	39.71

There is one thing always to keep in mind about averages—50 per cent are below the average. Thus, with an average weekly wage of \$38.39 in laundries, half of all the workers in the industry receive less than this amount.

The current low level of wages in these industries is only half of the story. It is also significant that the tremendous rise in prices since before World War II has eaten up most of the increase in wages which low-wage workers have obtained since then.

Let us take another look at the earnings of the average laundry worker. The \$38.39 weekly which he received in December could only buy as much as \$20.18 could buy in 1939. Since in 1939 his weekly pay averaged \$17.69, in December, 1951, he was getting only about \$2.50 a week more in 1939 dollars than he was in 1939.

As a matter of fact, at the end of 1951 he was actually worse off than he was in 1945. Even though his money wages increased by almost \$10 between 1945 and the end of 1951, his buying power dropped by almost nine per cent.

He also suffered a decrease in his buying power if you take June, 1950, the beginning of the Korean war, as the comparison point. From June, 1950, to December, 1951, the consumers' price index rose by 11.1 per cent.

But here are the changes in average weekly earnings for some of the low-wage industries:

Laundries	5.7% increase
Tobacco stemming and redrying	4.3% decrease
Men's, boy's furnishings and work clothing	1.4% increase
General merchandise stores	0.9% increase
Hotels	10.3% increase

Thus, these workers, who were already extremely low-paid, have suffered further cuts in their buying power since Korea.

Incidentally, all of the foregoing discussion of the buying power of the laundry worker's wage is based on changes in prices as shown by the consumers' price index of the Department of Labor. This index is fairly accurate in measuring the average increase in prices of the goods and services bought by all workers. However, it underestimates the rise of prices for the things bought by low-income families. This is because low-income families must spend such a large proportion of their meager incomes for food, and food prices have gone up much faster than other prices.

Thus, the average laundry worker earns a good bit less than \$20 a week in terms of 1939 dollars, and what is true for the laundry worker is true also for the hotel worker and the employees in seamless hosiery firms, in tobacco stemming and redrying, and the other low-paid industries.

**E**VEN this is not the whole story. Few people realize what a large proportion of the earnings of low-income families goes into taxes. As A. F. of L. spokesmen have maintained for many years, the tax system in this country is by no means based on the principle of ability to pay if you take into account all types of taxes and not just the federal income tax.

Every time the federal government imposes another excise tax, every time a state enacts a sales tax, the burden falls most heavily on the lowest income families.

The fact is that low-income families bear a crushing tax burden. Out of their meager incomes they are

being taxed just as heavily as families in higher income brackets. In 1948 families earning less than \$1000 a year paid out 23.6 per cent of their income in taxes. This was higher than any group except those earning \$7500 and up. The percentage of income going to taxes was nearly as high for those earning \$1000 to \$1999. These families paid 20.3 per cent of their income in taxes. This compares with 21.7 per cent for the \$4000 to \$4999 group, and 23.1 per cent for the \$5000 to \$7499 group.

While the low-income families are paying far more than their fair share of taxes, they are unable to maintain even a minimum standard of living.

In 1945 a subcommittee of the House Labor Committee asked the Bureau of Labor Statistics to find out for a number of cities the number of "dollars required for the average worker in overalls to live in these cities."

The Bureau came up with its answers in the form of a city worker's family budget for June, 1947. Since then the Bureau of National Affairs, a private organization, has been keeping these figures up-to-date by a procedure recognized by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The estimate of this city worker's family budget for a family of four in December, 1951, ranged from \$3835 in Kansas City to \$4347 in San Francisco. Translated into weekly amounts, that would be \$73.75 in Kansas City and \$83.60 in San Francisco.

This means that the low-wage workers we have been talking about earned only about one-half of what it costs "the average worker in overalls to live." Yet the budget provided for by earnings of \$73.75 in Kansas City or \$83.60 in San Francisco is by no means on a luxury scale. Here are some of the maximum expenditures it permits:

*For the family:*

A toaster every 25 years  
A carpet sweeper every 33 years  
A radio once in 10 years  
Two sheets, three bath towels,  
one hand towel and two face  
cloths every year

*For the husband:*

An overcoat every 7 years  
A raincoat every 12½ years  
A bathrobe every 12½ years  
House slippers every 5 years

*For the wife:*

A skirt every 5 years

A blouse every 2 years  
A nightgown every year  
A bathrobe every 20 years

Each member of the family can have his teeth cleaned by a dentist on an average of less than once every two years.

It permits only four paid admissions a year for the entire family to plays, concerts or sports events.

Although the budget is meant to apply to a family with two growing children, it does not even allow for two quarts of milk a day for the entire family. It permits less than one egg per day for each member of the family. Most of the meat it provides for is of the low-price kind such as stews, hamburger and frankfurters, with very little allowed for roasts, steaks or chops.

Yet to meet this budget, which represents what the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls the "total dollars necessary to provide family health, worker efficiency, nurture of children and social participation by all members of the family," the average laundry worker or hosiery worker or worker in a tobacco stemmery would have to double his weekly wage.

In current prices the food part of the budget alone costs \$1100 to \$1200. This is considerably more than half of the total income of a worker earning \$40 or less per week.

LOW-WAGE workers have been particularly hurt by the failure of the Wage Stabilization Board to develop a policy with regard to substandard wages. Under the present policies of the Board permissible wage increases are stated in percentage terms. It can be readily seen that this means a smaller dollar amount for low-wage workers. For example, if a worker earning \$1.60 in January, 1950, is permitted an increase of 14 per cent, this amounts to 22 cents. On the other hand, the worker earning only \$1.20 is permitted the same maximum percentage increase, which is less than 17 cents.

This is obviously an unjust treatment of low-wage workers. There is need for a new regulation which will say, in effect, that anyone who earns less than a certain minimum amount is permitted to receive a wage increase up to that level regardless of what that increase may be in money or percentage terms.

Such a policy has already been

applied to farm workers. They are now permitted to receive increases up to 95 cents an hour plus 15 per cent, or roughly \$1.10. However, nothing has been done for non-agricultural workers working at substandard wages.

It seems clear that there is immediate need for the Wage Stabilization Board to adopt a policy which will permit increases to bring low-wage workers up to a level high enough to sustain themselves and their families at a decent standard of living.

A wage stabilization policy for substandard workers is not the whole answer to the problem of increasing the standard of living of low-wage workers. There is also a job to do on the legislative front. Despite the more than 10 per cent increase in the cost of living which has occurred since 1949, when the Fair Labor Standards Act was amended, the minimum wage has remained unchanged at 75 cents an hour. The American Federation of Labor has urged that the minimum wage be increased to at least \$1.10 an hour.

Even this will not protect many workers who are not engaged in "interstate commerce" and are therefore excluded from coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Most states either have no minimum wage legislation or it is restricted to women. Where they have minimum wage legislation, the minimum is, in most cases, lower than that provided for in the Fair Labor Standards Act. It is, therefore, very important that minimum wage laws in the states be extended to men and that the level of minimum wages set by state legislation be raised to at least that provided for by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

There is also a very basic and important role for union organization in this field. The success which many unions have had in raising the level of living for low-wage workers indicates very clearly that many workers are low-paid primarily because they

**HAVE YOU  
REGISTERED  
TO VOTE?**

lack sufficient bargaining power and not because of any individual failings or even because of low productivity of their industries.

The fact is that, by and large, the lowest wages are paid in the unorganized industries. The only way that low-wage workers can obtain

sufficient strength to bargain on an equal level with their employers is by organizing into unions. The tremendous gains which A. F. of L. unions in trade and service industries have made in recent years are a clear indication that there is no reason why wages in these traditionally low-wage

industries cannot be brought up to a much higher level.

Through a proper wage stabilization policy, decent minimum wage legislation and union organization, it should be possible to raise the level of living of millions of underprivileged families in the United States.

# THE FOOLISH WHITTEN RIDER

By LEO E. GEORGE

President, National Federation of Post Office Clerks

**A**N EXAMPLE of the strange ways in which the collective mind sometimes works is the Whitten rider to federal appropriation acts for the current and the preceding fiscal years.

Ostensibly for the purpose of government economy, the Whitten rider provides that, aside from the defense agencies, no federal departments or agencies shall make other than temporary appointments for the duration of the national emergency.

Defense agencies are exempted because it is recognized that increasing activities and increased work to be done requires additional personnel.

However, the fact that postal receipts have increased 137 per cent since 1930 and the volume of work has increased approximately 150 per cent since 1930, while the number of postal employees has increased only 47 per cent, seems to have little or no effect upon the reasoning that decrees further decrease in personnel and withholds necessary appropriations for improvement of equipment and proper organization of post offices.

The original Whitten amendment, and Executive Order No. 10180 pursuant thereto, resulted in a reduction of the number of regular or classified employees in the field postal service through the inhibition against the filling of vacancies caused by deaths, retirements, resignations and removals.

These vacancies were necessarily filled by the appointment of an even greater number of "temporary" employees. There are now more than 100,000 of these temporary employees.

Many of these temporary or indefinite employees could not, under normal circumstances, ever hope to be selected for permanent appointment since they possess none of the requisites of education, training or skill. Many of them are actually unemployable except for menial work.

The hiring of such people certainly does not result in economy of operation. The Deputy Postmaster General, Mr. Burke, told the Appropriations Committee when the Whitten rider was under consideration:

"Experience has shown that the employment of regular help is more economical and more efficient. The people have security. They have greater interest in their jobs."

Mr. Burke knows what he is talking about, having served in almost every position in the service, including the position of postmaster in Washington, D. C.

Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson told a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations:

"I am further hopeful that maybe the law that started all this [Whitten amendment] might not be extended into 1953 or might even be repealed before 1953. It would certainly save a great amount of money in the operation of the postal service."

In many of our cities those standing highest on the eligible registers refuse temporary appointments and those who do accept such appointments are, generally speaking, the people who are the least qualified for the positions. Having no permanent tenure, they are reluctant to learn schemes of postal distribution or

otherwise fit themselves for the efficient performance of their duties. Their attitude, and it is understandable, appears to be: "I'm not going to be here long anyhow. Why should I worry?"

The present condition of the postal service, about which so many complaints are heard, is in a large measure attributable to the hiring of unskilled and untrained "temporary" help which results from the Whitten amendment.

The field service of the Postoffice Department is an essential, everyday service that depends entirely upon the eyes, brains, hands and feet of thousands of postal employees. No mechanical devices or technological developments have yet been conceived that can master intricate schemes of postal distribution and perform the necessary operations required to transmit a piece of mail from sender to addressee.

The number of such pieces of mail depends entirely upon the mailing public, 150,000,000 people who send letters, papers and packages at their own discretion and in such numbers as meet their desires. The number is ever increasing and now reaches beyond 50,000,000,000 pieces per year.

It is obvious that a business of this magnitude, which is gradually and steadily increasing, requires an increasing number of employees to get the job done. If, as at present, regular employees cannot be appointed, it is obvious that temporary employees in ever increasing numbers must be engaged. No one can tell 150,000,000 people that they shall not send

any mail or that their right to send mail shall be rationed.

Advanced as a measure of economy, the Whitten rider against regular appointments is exactly the opposite. It is expensive. It is inefficient and it is destructive of workers' morale.

The best potential appointees on eligible lists will not accept temporary appointments. Temporary appointees cannot be trained properly. Postmasters cannot assign temporary employees properly for permanent assignments, and recognition of seniority becomes a dead letter, with consequent disadvantage to senior, qualified employees.

What is the result? Morale is destroyed. Efficiency is impaired.

It is a well-established fact that temporary employees are less than 50 per cent as efficient as regular employees. This means that, instead of economy, there is a greater expenditure for a deteriorated service.

Prospective employees who would desire regular employment and an opportunity for a career service and advancement in that service will not accept temporary employment where rates of pay and conditions of work compare unfavorably with other employment.

The temporary employee sees no inducement to study and practice in order to become efficient at his job when he knows that his employment may be terminated at any time, for little or no reason. This creates a condition that is destructive of morale, not only among newer employees

but also among older employees. Already there has been a loss of morale and efficiency that may take years to repair.

What is needed—at once—is a restoration to normal practice of recruitment through competitive civil service examinations and regular, permanent appointments up to the complement required to render efficient service.

In addition to the Whitten inhibition against regular appointments being uneconomical and inefficient, it is destroying all regard for the classified civil service and restoring nepotism to an extent that has not previously existed since enactment of the federal Civil Service Law in 1883. This is possible because of the authority given to postmasters to appoint whomever they please under the representation that employees cannot be secured for temporary positions through civil service examinations.

Rumors have become current that a new category of federal employees may be created, "probational indefinite employees." Just what, in detail, will be the difference between a probational indefinite employee and a temporary employee is not made clear. It seems to be a means of perpetuating the indefinite nature of all appointments.

The greatest need of the postal service at the present time is restoration of the morale of the employees. There must be recaptured the pride in the service that prompts the most efficient service to the public. That cannot be done until the employees

can feel that they are actually a part of the federal service.

The making of an efficient post-office clerk involves years of training and experience and the acquisition of knowledge. Temporary employees, with no security of tenure, have no incentive to acquire the knowledge nor to become adept at performing the difficult operations necessary to the efficient handling of mail.

The Whitten rider does not effect a reduction in the number of employees. The nature of the postal service requires that the mails be collected, distributed, transported and delivered regardless of the number of hands necessary.

The Whitten rider does not effect a reduction in the dollars expended. Three and one-half to four temporary employees are required to perform the work done ordinarily by two regular trained employees. This results in a much greater expenditure of money.

The Whitten rider does not effect efficient or even satisfactory service. Temporary employees are untrained and uninformed, and their employment in large numbers results in mishandling and delays to important mails.

The Whitten rider does not effect a saving in manpower, in dollars or in facilities required, and it results in lowered morale of all employees and a deteriorated service.

Experience has proved that the Whitten rider, as applied to the postal service, is the direct opposite of economy. It should be repealed quickly.

*Thanks to the Whitten rider, morale of workers has deteriorated, and this has led to lowered efficiency*



# BALTIMORE Makes Progress

By G. A. RUARK

THE newcomer may arrive at an 1862 vintage red brick railroad depot, elbow a path to the rock-paved surface of Camden Street to flick a bewildered glance toward the smog-banked skyline and gasp:

"So this is Baltimore. Ugh!"

He will exhale this queasy conception quickly. He will have to—while his nostrils still tingle to the tantalizing odors of tobacco, spice and coffee freshly roasting. His next inhalation, in all probability, will be polluted with the more pungent fumes of molten steel, raw petroleum and fertilizer cows long dead.

But Baltimoreans are accustomed to this aromatic conglomeration, just as they are acquainted with odious greetings from strangers—so they pay little attention to either.

Such degradation from outlanders is too commonplace to be disavowed. It is merely resented; while the natives tolerantly bide their time, smug in the knowledge that each year hundreds of these horrified "foreigners," enthralled with the picturesqueness of Baltimore's ugliness, linger for a lifetime and subsequently proclaim that they, too, are proud residents of

the nation's second largest seaport and its sixth largest city.

Biding one's time is not just a habit in Baltimore. It's an industry. Except for the man in hot pursuit of space in a revolving door, no one seems ever to be in a hurry. Whether ponderable matters involve restriction of parking in an alley or construction of a giant airport, Baltimoreans must meditate at length before drawing conclusions. Major changes, in particular, must be studied by a host of commissions, probed by private survey companies and finally resolved by referendum.

If goaded by officious progressives to hasten this process, the phlegmatic Baltimorean will heave a great and incomprehensible sigh, lift an irritated eyebrow and indignant inquire:

"What's the rush?"

It is this languorous attitude toward

sudden modernization, this ingrained desire to "make haste slowly," which outside observers must understand before attempting to evaluate organized labor's progress in Baltimore.

Because it, too, comprises Baltimoreans, labor long ago learned to use its brain instead of its muscle to score impressive successes. Its advancement is therefore a steady, plodding sort of progress comparable, in a way, to the great port itself.

The broad waters of the Patapsco, not visible from any natural vantage point, flow swiftly to the south as if to by-pass Baltimore in a mad rush to rendezvous with the Chesapeake. But before reaching the bay they turn, dig deep channels into a labyrinth of

harbors, sweep past twenty-five miles of industrial waterfront, wash against the ramparts of Fort McHenry, home of "The Star-Spangled Banner," and

*Maryland's industrial center, where workers used to have it pretty rough. Things are much better now*



MR. RUARK

knife deep into the heart of the Monumental City's business district.

Thus does Baltimore labor, though apparently lackadaisical in its approach, move steadily along to create new opportunities, serve the best interests of the community and ultimately score directly on the bullseye of its target.

This caution, born of necessity, is partially due to Baltimore's geographical location. Its industrial attitude, like its design for living, is a blend of sharp contrasts between North and South. To utilize the advantages of the former while overcoming the handicaps of the latter, labor is careful to secure each individual gain, solidify it into a permanent part of the movement and then move onward to achieve further advances.

The taproots of this strategy run deep into Maryland history. Most of the obstacles Baltimore labor has had to surmount have existed for more than twice as many years as some cities are old.

If Baltimore labor seems to sag beneath the heights achieved by some of its more youthful counterparts, it is because Baltimore has had to climb up from deeper down.

Even before it was officially proclaimed Baltimore Towne in 1729, landowners had had a hundred years of practice in exploiting the working people. Only in the archives of the debtors' prisons can an occasional trace be found of the ill fate which befell workers who toiled for a pauper's pittance to grade the steep cliffs, fill the deep swamps and build the land upon which Baltimore stands.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century exploitation of the workers was developed until it became an art. Indentured apprentices and bond servants enjoyed few liberties, and all men were easy prey for maritime press gangs.

It was not until 1831 that the key to labor's freedom was found. In that year the printers organized. Now known as Baltimore Typographical Union, Local 12, the organization then founded is still doing business at the ripe age of 121 years.

But even as early as 1831 the printers recognized the impotence of a divided house of labor. As other organizations of craftsmen developed they set about immediately to unite them into an assembly. Finally, on July 24, 1833, following the lead of



*Henry Werner is president of city's A. F. of L. movement*

the "Union of Trades" under Ely Moore in New York City, Baltimore unions met to lay the foundation for a local central body. By September 4 varying opinions had become amalgamated and the "Baltimore Trade Union Society" was established.

Cut off from direct communication with the public and lambasted by the daily papers, the fledgling federation soon discovered the need of a labor press. As a result of this discovery it began publication of *The Baltimore Trades Union* late in 1834.

Another result was the inception of union political action. To intensify its efforts in this field, the Society affiliated with the National Trades Union in 1835. Its immediate goal was repeal of conspiracy laws which held



*Edward H. Johns is executive secretary of the central body*

labor unions to be unlawful assemblies. Very little was accomplished, however. Before the National Trades Union could hold its third convention, scheduled for Baltimore in 1838, the labor movement was blown higher than a politician's opinion of himself when the economy exploded in the "Panic of '37."

Labor attempted to reorganize its forces in 1849 when manpower shifted westward in the search for California's gold. But this effort hit the skids when the bottom dropped out and depression again engulfed the nation in 1857.

While the Union Army fought the Confederates in a war Marylanders still call by two names, Baltimore was busily engaged in trying to decide which side it would join. While it deliberated, its sons and daughters served with distinction on both sides. Before it could make up its mind, however, hostilities ended and only government controls remained.

Pressured to fight for self-preservation against this centralization of authority, Baltimore unionists called for another national federation. Sixty organizations responded to the invitation, and on August 20, 1866, the congress of the National Labor Union convened.

This group had its breath cut short in 1872 when it poked its nose into politics to promote David Davis of Illinois for President of the United States. Once burned in the political cauldron, Baltimore unionists refused to prod the pot, so they boiled over to the Knights of Labor.

However, not all of the locals found happiness in this new family. The dissenters held brief flirtations with the new Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, founded at Pittsburgh in 1881. Their infidelity strained relations with Knights of Labor locals; so to effect a reconciliation, on July 18, 1883, local unions reunited in a new central body known as the Baltimore Building League.

The new group embraced thirty-two local unions. Among them were the Printers, Cigarmakers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Painters, Horse Collar Makers and the "Mystic Assembly," whatever that was.

A "card system" devised by this group succeeded in winning friends among employers. Union members, thus identified, proved to be the best craftsmen, and demand for their serv-



B.F.L. President Werner presents copy of "With These Hands," the I.L.G.W.U. film, to Dr. W. H. Lemmel, Baltimore school leader

ices mounted. But for reasons not stipulated in the official minutes, delegates ruled the organization was "unstable." It was dissolved on December 5, 1883. On December 19 the Baltimore Federation of Labor as now constituted was established.

In February of the following year the B.F.L. dispatched 150 delegates to the State Legislature in Annapolis. They submitted a resolution calling for enactment of the eight-hour day, repeal of the conspiracy law and establishment of an office of State Labor Statistician. Believe it or not, every law requested by labor on that occasion was enacted by the Legislature.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor approved the American Federation of Labor on December, 1886, when the A. F. of L. succeeded the Federation of Organized Trades. But the approbation wasn't mutual. Even though the B.F.L. was host to the 1887 convention of the American Federation of Labor, the latter withheld certification of the Baltimore central body until January 19, 1889, because until that time the local group stubbornly maintained Knights of Labor assemblies on its roster.

Though deliberate of action and patient by nature, even Baltimoreans sometimes reach the limit of endurance. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad pushed them beyond this boundary in 1887 when, for the third time

in three years, it invoked a ten per cent reduction in wages.

Incensed by the pay cut, the workers walked off their jobs to parade the streets in protest. They were met by a thunderous fusillade from the rifles of the Sixth Maryland Militia, and twelve of them fell, spilling out their life's blood in crimson rivulets that oozed around the cobblestones and soaked into the earth in between.

If this atrocity was intended to break the ranks of Baltimore labor, it boomeranged. It was determination, not fear, that installed itself in the hearts of the workers. Organization of the working people proceeded.

As LABOR'S ranks continued to grow, the labor press made its second appearance in Maryland. *The Labor Leader* began publication in 1902.

Two years later the building trades scored a sweeping success in blocking the importation of cheap labor to rebuild Baltimore after the great fire had leveled the business district.

By 1912 court injunctions and club-toting hoodlums had replaced bullets as anti-union weapons. The Garment Workers were given a thorough going-over by both but succeeded, nevertheless, in winning a strike for a 55-hour week.

Savagely as Baltimore fights, so deeply does it mourn. By proclamation from the mayor on December 13,

1924, the city stopped for two minutes of silent homage to Samuel Gompers upon his passing.

Local unionists had had intimate contact with Gompers. After all, their own beloved Anna Neary, as an A. F. of L. organizer, had served faithfully by his side throughout the length and breadth of the continent. It was therefore fitting and proper that the Baltimore Federation of Labor was privileged to contribute the vault which holds his casket at his final resting place.

Henry F. Broening, president of the Baltimore central body at the time, exemplified the lofty principles of Sam Gompers. But molding a labor movement according to the noble pattern of Gompers was not an easy task for Broening. He forced his fragile body to keep pace with his energetic mind and in his zeal he overtaxed his heart. He was found collapsed over his desk and died on November 9, 1933. He had been at the helm for thirteen rigorous years.

In a brief eulogy Father John Smith of St. Bernadine's Catholic Church said:

"His outstanding trait was fidelity — to God, to church and to the laboring masses. No greater tribute could be paid to any man."

Broening brought a new era to Baltimore labor. Under his leadership the city's trade unions not only increased in membership but expanded in influence, gained in prestige and won recognition from both the state and municipal governments.

It was Broening who founded Maryland's *Federationist Newspaper* in 1920 and served as its editor until his death. Thirty years later it was this publication which climaxed a union fund-raising campaign to erect a memorial building at the Gunpowder River Boy Scout Camp as a monument to Broening's memory.

The leaders who succeeded Broening continued to wage labor's unceasing fight for economic advantages, stronger labor laws and greater civic improvements. Labor's fight for unemployment insurance so impressed the state's lawmakers that Joseph P. McCurdy, then president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, was specifically named in the law as a member of the unemployment insurance administrative board. Never before or since has such action been voted. Today Joe is the national president

of the United Garment Workers of America.

With the advent of the Wagner Act in 1937, Baltimore unions almost simultaneously initiated widespread activity in organizing industrial workers. As time progressed, Baltimore labor scored precedent-setting advances with almost monotonous regularity. Frank Clark Ellis, president of the Building Trades Council, extended his organization from one contract with a single employer until it had agreements with more than 400 building contractors.

Teamsters' Local 825 became the first U.S. union ever to negotiate a signed contract with a municipality. Division 1300, Street Railway Employees, became the first to have a local transit company declared under the jurisdiction of the N.L.R.B. It subsequently succeeded in establishing the first union label transit service in America.

The Fire Fighters, Teachers, Park Employees and Police all organized virile A. F. of L. unions. The Distillery Workers expanded to organize every major distilling firm in the area. The building trades, directed by President Ellis, gained official enactment of the union scale as the prevailing wage for city construction. Labor was advancing at such a rapid pace that it far outdistanced the city in progress.

This moved B.F.L. President Harry Cohen in 1944 to declare:

"Baltimore is too big for its knee britches. We are an adult metropolis and it's high time now that we try on long pants—just for size!"

As a start, he recommended that the central labor union alter its own garb to conform with the new look in styles. The first requisite was a drastic remodeling of the time-tattered constitution, which still dealt with ancient problems long ago resolved by union pioneers whose ashes had been cold for a decade.

Next, he called for a streamlined scissoring of the outmoded by-laws. He wanted the red tape shorn off, the "ifs" cut out and the "buts" tossed into the ashcan. Most of all, he wanted a full-time officer to devote himself to the increasing affairs of the Baltimore Federation of Labor.

The alterations called for were needed all right, but there was no money to pay to the tailor. Moreover, the surgery prescribed for the by-laws involved a prodigious undertaking

that required seven years of operation.

The job was completed finally by Printer Charles V. Brannock under the administration of President Thomas J. Healy. The fiery leadership of Cohen, meanwhile, had carried him to the presidency of the Maryland-D.C. Federation of Labor.

The new full-time officer, Executive Secretary Edward H. Johns, like any new gear in an old machine, got off to a squeaky start. But in less than a year his own ingenuity, coupled with wise counsel from oldsters, has stabilized the movement into a smooth-working organization that is leading the way into great new fields of endeavor.

Fire Fighter Raymond Fogarty and Teacher Bernard Kuder now comprise two-thirds of the city employees' Board of Pension Trustees. Edward A. Garman of I.B.E.W. Local 28 is Congressman from the Third District. Labor is represented on innumerable commissions which traditionally deal with Baltimore's problems.

Johns himself, in addition to serving several of these groups, is chairman of the Port of Baltimore Commission. Established by the Legislature, the commission is charged with spending \$30 million to improve the city's harbor facilities. The B.F.L. executive secretary is the first representative of labor ever to head such an im-

portant department of government.

Impressed by the *Federationist Newspaper*'s success in becoming the first during the Gompers Centennial Year, 1950, to name a school for the A. F. of L. founder, Johns swung immediately into action to expand labor's influence in local education. He has already succeeded in having the Baltimore Department of Education accept the I.L.G.W.U. motion picture, "With These Hands," for stocking in the high schools' motion picture library. Johns has also arranged for the study of trade unionism to be included in the public school curriculum.

Together with President Henry Werner, Maryland's specialist in workmen's compensation, Johns and the Executive Board look ahead to the future with the optimism of youth.

With thousands of unorganized workers yet to be awakened to the advantages of A. F. of L. union representation, they realize there is a long road ahead before Baltimore arrives at its goal of a strongly organized city. But even Sam Gompers contended that labor's work will never be done.

"Wherever there is a wrong, there is work for us to do," he said. "Wherever there is a right not yet attained, there is work for us to do."

Baltimore labor, in its pondering, remembers well this philosophy and to it adds a firm and reassuring "Amen."

***Don't Miss It!***

# UNION INDUSTRIES SHOW

**BOSTON**

**May 17 to 24**

# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►The International Association of Machinists is winning large numbers of elections across the nation. At the new General Electric plant in Auburn, N. Y., the I.A.M. whipped both the C.I.O. Electrical Workers and the unaffiliated United Electrical Workers. The Machinists have won more than forty other elections in recent weeks.

►The Printing Pressmen at Evansville, Ind., have won a new two-year contract which provides for a 10½-cent hourly increase for pressmen and a 10-cent hourly hike for assistants and miscellaneous helpers. Two and one-half times the regular rates will be paid for holiday work.

►Local 282, Meat Cutters, has secured a wage increase at Tampa, Fla., for employees of Wilson and Company. Other gains include a premium for night shift work, a sick leave plan and meal allowances for workers who have to go out of town.

►Local 390, Electrical Workers, has won an hourly pay raise of 11¼ cents at Port Arthur, Texas. The boost is retroactive to December. Another gain is double time for all work done after 10 P.M. and on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

►Local 77 of the Upholsterers, Philadelphia, has won an hourly increase of 10 cents an hour, plus three additional paid holidays, for 125 workers of the Burkart Manufacturing Company. The boost in pay is retroactive to last November.

►Office workers employed by the Cutter Laboratory, Berkeley, Calif., have voted to be represented by Local 29, Office Employes International Union.

►Local 166, Laundry Workers, has negotiated an hourly pay increase in Duluth, Minn. The boost is retroactive to last December 7.

►Local 749 of the Teamsters has won an election held at the Cement Products Company in Watertown, S. D.



*Ludwig Rosenberg (left), German labor leader, is welcomed at the A. F. of L. Building by William Green as George Meany looks on*

►Locals 642 and 644, Paper Workers, Williamston, N. C., have obtained a new contract at the Marvel Package Company. The agreement brings the employees a general increase, various pay adjustments, an additional paid holiday and a comprehensive insurance plan paid for by the company.

►Local 148, Operating Engineers, has won a wage increase at the generating plants of the Union Electric Company in St. Louis. Locals 309, 649 and 1439 of the Electrical Workers have also won higher pay for their members at the same company.

►Local 286, State, County and Municipal Employes, has obtained better pay for public employes at Newport, Ky., and Fort Thomas, Ky. The increases are 15 cents an hour at Newport and 13 cents an hour at Fort Thomas.

►Division 1211, Street Railway and Motor Coach Employes, has obtained signed contracts from four bus companies, the Illini Coach Lines, Swallow Lines of Illinois, Swallow Lines of Indiana and American Stages.

►Local 218 of the Laundry Workers, Chattanooga, Tenn., has negotiated the extension of its agreement with the Perfection Laundry for another year. The employees gain a wage increase and a welfare plan that will be paid for solely by the employer.

►Alma Fashions, Miami, has agreed to sign a two-year contract with the Ladies' Garment Workers after a three-week strike. The pact calls for better wages for the employees and paid vacations and holidays.

►The Office Employes have launched an organizing campaign among the 400 office and clerical employes of the Cornhusker Ordnance Plant at Grand Island, Nebr.

►Local 665 of the Boilermakers, Melvindale, Mich., has secured boosts in wages and back pay for workers at Kropp Forge Ordnance Company.

►Local 214, Ladies' Garment Workers, Houston, has won wage increases for a total of 225 workers employed by three companies in the Texas city.

Local 370, Typographical Union, and El Paso, Tex., employers have signed a three-year contract calling for a 10 per cent increase in hourly rates and additional cost-of-living hikes based on the consumers' price index.

Local 734 of the Teamsters, Seattle, has obtained a pay hike of \$7.50 a week in a contract negotiated with the bakeries in that well-organized city.

Local 1211 of the State, County and Municipal Employees, Providence, R. I., has won an increase and a minimum weekly wage of \$50.

Local 823 of the Painters, Albuquerque, N. M., has reached an agreement with the contractors calling for a 12½-cent hourly increase.

The Masters, Mates and Pilots have won a 6.2 per cent pay increase and other benefits in an agreement with the Pacific Maritime Association.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has its nationwide campaign to organize the telephone workers in full swing. All-out support of the A. F. of L. has been pledged to the Electrical Workers.

Local 956 of the Teamsters has won a premium pay schedule for overtime work at the General Electric Supply Corporation.

Members of the Building Service Employees who work at Rockefeller Center in New York City recently obtained a wage increase.

Local 476 of the Plasterers, Santa Fe, N. M., has reached an agreement with the contractors calling for a new wage scale of \$22 a day.

Local 174, Office Employees, has won pay increases ranging from 15 to 19 per cent for employees at Columbia Broadcasting System, Los Angeles.

Local 48 of the Typographical Union, Atlanta, has renewed its contract with Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., obtaining a weekly increase of \$5 across the board.

Local 237, Ladies' Garment Workers, Winnipeg, Canada, has negotiated an agreement calling for a wage increase, two weeks' paid vacation and five paid holidays.

Local 346 of the Teamsters has won a wage increase for drivers employed by dry cleaning and laundry concerns in Duluth, Minn.

Lodge 77 of the Machinists has won a wage increase at Reinhard Brothers, Minneapolis. The increase is retroactive.

Following a long-established custom, Local 338 of the Typographical Union, Charlotte, N. C., sent checks to the widows of deceased members. Checks are mailed annually.

mark of wetback exploitation. Conferences of churchmen throughout the land are placing this problem at the top of their agenda.

And the farm workers, supported by small farmers whose own labor is cheapened by these conditions, continue to organize. There are over 2,000,000 of them who can be brought into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor if the effort worthy of such an objective is put forth. When it is accomplished, the American Federation of Labor can work out with the impoverished laboring man of Mexico a program of mutual assistance, reciprocal aid and democratic cooperation that will be untainted by contract peonage or diplomatic yellow-dogging.

## They Work for Pennies

(Continued from Page 13)

workers. The close coordination of the wetback and the national from Mexico as a pincers force to depress wages and break unions in the United States ushers in an era of peonage by treaty.

In violent contradiction to the philosophy of the international labor movement since Sam Gompers went to Versailles in 1919 is the stark fact that we can and do have the *destruction*, not the upbuilding, of labor standards by government-to-government agreements. It draws, practically in black and white, a graph of infiltration of all organized crafts and trades once the cellar way of agriculture is left wide open to the termites.

Not the least of implications is this: the democratic spirit, the democratic creed and the democratic program of the United States labor movement, in its appeal and influence among the workers of the Western Hemisphere, have shrunk steadily.

In the eyes of millions of workers of the other twenty American nations, that creed and that spirit are cornered in the U. S. Southwest. No bold new program which can tolerate such horrible conditions at home can remove them abroad.

Were it not for the steadfast cam-

paign of the American Federation of Labor, the prospects for the American farm workers would be dark indeed. But that campaign has begun to reach the rank and file of the A. F. of L. membership through its own press and radio.

It has set the stage for unimpeachable reporting like Gladwin Hill's in the *New York Times*. It has cleared the ground for the technical contributions of the A. F. of L.'s Hollywood Film Council in bringing these conditions to light. It has encouraged the organization of a committee of five Southwest Federations of Labor into a Committee on Migratory Labor Standards. It has, with the plain-spoken assistance of Congressman John F. Shelley and the California State Federation of Labor, stopped in its tracks a gumshoe maneuver to bring 10,000 Korean peasants to California to harvest lettuce for the Associated Farmers.

The campaign is spreading beyond the ranks of labor. Citizens' committees have met in Los Angeles, San Francisco and other California cities to have a close look at peonage by contract. Consumer cooperatives are holding canned goods labels to the light to see if they carry the water-



Attend Union Meetings

## Training Future Officers

(Continued from Page 9)

tude of the older employed officers toward the students during their period of training and later when they were assigned to jobs. Our officers have given excellent cooperation in helping students to familiarize themselves with various aspects of union operation and administration during their periods of training in the field.

Students, on the other hand, are told and soon come to realize that their own attitude and conduct go far in determining their reception and progress during the training period. They realize that the program is merely the prelude to much they must learn of the industry and the union. When they complete their year at the Institute they must be prepared to buckle down to hard work.

Given this realistic understanding on the part of the young people in training which we have had up to this point, we do not anticipate anything but continued wholehearted support of the training program from officers in the field.

This does not mean that we expect the Training Institute to take care of our problems of adjustment. This would obviously be impossible in an organization with close to 1,000 officers employed in various capacities. However, through experience, future officers gain a perspective and training that should make the process of adjustment much easier for them than if they did not have the opportunity of attending the Institute.

Following initial placement in union service, some transfers will be necessary in the interest of both the international and the graduates. However, understanding gained of the student's abilities and limitations during the training period will certainly facilitate any such needed adjustment.

The process of student adjustment is considerably facilitated, of course, by the general understanding that the Training Institute is set up to train young people to do specific jobs required by the international and that union members without similar training are not prevented from running for office.

In 1949 and 1950 when plans for the Institute were being made, it

was estimated that a budget of \$100,000 yearly would be necessary to finance the program. The amount actually spent during the past year was \$80,000.

The Institute budget provides for administration, equipment, supplies, lecture fees and instructional expenses, and covers travel expenses of students to their field training assignments and living and travel expenses during their two field training periods.

Since its inception the program has been directed by Arthur A. Elder with the cooperation of Elmer Kehrer and a secretarial staff. Visiting lecturers and instructors from universities and governmental agencies are used whenever necessary, but a very large part of the lecture and workshop activities and supervision of the field training program is taken care of by the Institute staff, directors of various I.L.G.W.U. departments and officers in the field. All problems involving Institute policy are referred periodically to the union's Education Committee and General Executive Board for decision.

Although it is too early to state definitely that the Training Institute program will meet all the leadership training needs of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, many signs already point to its making a considerable contribution.



Field work is a part of the training

Within their first year as staff members, many of the first graduating class are already making a vital contribution to the growth of the international, and it is expected that they will continue to do so. With each succeeding class, we will be moving from the experimental phase of leadership training through refinement and broadening of the scope of the program.

It is the hope of the leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers that, at a time not too far away, the labor movement will develop a leadership training school which will function for the entire labor movement as our own Training Institute is now doing for our union.

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## There Is No Alternative

(Continued from Page 17)

the entire railroad labor movement to even a worse degree of helplessness than exists today in other industries, if Taft-Hartley were fully invoked.

To return again to the 1920s under the Transportation Act, or the Esch-Cummins Law as it is commonly called, which was not as bad as Taft-Hartley, the National Railroad Labor Board was supposed to be a judicial body to render decisions on the facts. The first Board, appointed by President Woodrow Wilson, attempted to do that, to a reasonable degree at least, but under the Harding administration two ex-Governors—one from Tennessee and the other from Kentucky, both one-term political accidentals—were appointed for the sole purpose of doing a hatchet job on railroad labor, and they carried out their assignment most effectively, particularly on the railroad shopmen.

When we could no longer endure the humiliations being heaped upon us, we suspended work on July 1, 1922, by an almost unanimous vote of the 400,000 men involved. That strike was in process of being settled when the Attorney General, Harry Daugherty, rushed to Chicago and in the courtroom of one of his own political cronies, Judge James Wilkerson, whom he had caused to be appointed to the federal bench, he secured the most drastic and sweeping injunction ever issued by any court in a civilized country.

The result was that not even the railroad presidents were permitted to talk about strike settlement without violating the injunction, and the negotiations which had been in process for a settlement completely collapsed.

What happened to the wage and working standards in the steel industry, in the coal industry and in every other industry in the country at that time is a lot of bitter history which most of us would like to forget. The American Federation of Labor was reduced from over 5,000,000 members to less than 2,000,000 and there was no trade union movement in this country really worth the name.

I assert to you with the utmost conviction that history can repeat itself, and I likewise declare that history will repeat itself unless the working people are alerted to the dangers

lurking at their doorsteps. So when I say we have been catapulted into politics, whether we like it or not, the record absolutely justifies that conclusion.

Now let us talk a little bit about practical politics. Political campaigns are not won in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, nor at the headquarters of the Railway Employees Department in Chicago, nor in the Boilermakers' Building at Kansas City. Campaigns are won in the voting precincts and they are won by the diligence and conviction of our members—

**First**—By registering and qualifying to vote in both the primaries and the elections.

**Second**—By registering your family, your local union members and as many of your friends as possible.

**Third**—By canvassing your neighborhood as a salesman for the job you have to do.

**Fourth**—By going to the polls on Primary Day and also seeing that everyone you can influence does likewise.

**Fifth**—Above all else, by rounding up every possible vote you can in the November election, so that—

(A) A President will be elected who represents all of the people in

the country and who will not be an agent of special privilege.

(B) United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives will be elected who will give labor a square deal.

(C) Governors and members of the State Legislatures who are sympathetic to the aims and ambitions of working people for a better life will be elected in the several states.

More than anything else, every member carrying a union card should reach into his pocket for the "widow's mite," a \$1 contribution to the national campaign fund, in order that money will be available for radio time, newspaper advertising, literature and other items incidental to an educational campaign.

Under Taft-Hartley no union is permitted to spend one dime for the election of the President, Vice-President, Senators or Congressmen. We will only have pennies against the \$10 bills of the opposition. It is admitted on the record that \$2,000,000 was spent in the state of Ohio in Senator Taft's campaign and it is charged that the total, directly or indirectly, was closer to \$5,000,000.

Therefore, in summing up, my final words are: Qualify to vote! Qualify your family and friends to vote! Be sure to vote! Be sure to contribute your "widow's mite"!

## Today's Labor Frontier

(Continued from Page 16)

overlooked. The Office Employees International Union has set up a functioning research arm headed by a skilled research expert to assist in the technical and complicated problems growing out of the U.S. wage stabilization program, the need to meet job evaluation problems and other basic matters of concern to clerical staffs.

A continuing coding and analysis project of all O.E.I.U. agreements has been established so that we can quickly produce studies and information on specific contract clauses and keep currently advised as to the shape and changes in O.E.I.U. local bargaining patterns in different industries and geographic areas.

Each month every member of the union finds in his home mail box a copy of our official publication,

*The Office Worker*. This keeps him advised of organizational gains made, wage increases obtained and the many other types of informative matter of direct interest to him and his well-being as an office employee.

White-collar workers definitely need organization. Office and clerical employees, a large segment of the white-collar group, need the right to participate through collective bargaining in the determination of their salaries and working conditions in their places of employment.

They can achieve their goals, without loss of dignity or prestige, through their American Federation of Labor union composed exclusively of office and clerical employees and devoted exclusively to their problems—the Office Employees International Union.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**President Truman**—The North Atlantic Treaty is an instrument of



peace. All the lies and smears of hostile propaganda cannot conceal the fact that our nations have entered this treaty to preserve peace. The people of our countries don't want to fight another war; they want to prevent one. And they have gone about it in the only way that can possibly work, that is, by banding together for mutual self-protection. In the past many of the North Atlantic Treaty countries at one time or another have tried to find peace through neutrality and isolation. It didn't work. It never will work. The people of the North Atlantic community know that if we are to preserve our independence, we must join our strength together. If we continue the hard, sustained effort we have begun, we can clearly foresee the time when our common military defenses will be strong enough to defend us against any attack. But we of the North Atlantic community are doing far more than simply building military defenses. We are also working together to build the solid social and economic foundations which are essential to our military defenses and to our entire future.

**Woodruff Randolph, president, International Typographical Union**—



There are folks of small minds and selfish dispositions who get the idea that because the I.T.U. is behind the small daily newspapers, the *Daily News-Digests*, to which we gave birth, we can be pushed around. We will not be pushed around by anybody. Some discriminations by business enterprises clearly exist. There is the "class consciousness" of certain businessmen who hate organized labor. When the newspaper which

is unfair to labor appeals to them not to advertise in a newspaper which is operating under union-conditions, you know the result. The "class consciousness" of the working population is a myth compared to that of those who pompously and piously decry it as un-American. The Typographical Union hopes to re-seed the daily newspaper field with these *Daily News-Digests* and show that it is possible to start new daily newspapers on a smaller scale than the metropolitan dailies. We hope to keep the International Typographical Union alive and developing in the best tradition and in its highest capacities. In no sense do we want to stop progress, but we insist on sharing in such progress.

**Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator**—We do not want the federal government to control or dominate the schools. But we can use the machinery of government, if we wish to do so, in order to meet and solve the financial problems of education—insofar as lack of money is one of the reasons for the gaps in the kind of education we want to offer every child in America. That is why I believe we should have a program of federal aid to states for operation and maintenance of public elementary and secondary schools. That is why I believe we should have a program of federal scholarship aid to undergraduate students in higher education and federal insurance of loans to graduate and undergraduate students. There are some who would say that we should not do these things because they will cost money. Obviously we cannot, in a time when so much of our tax money must go into military and related expenditures, find the money for all the other things we need to do. Obviously we must put the most urgent needs first and postpone the less urgent. But we cannot afford the false economy of laying aside for the indefinite future all our pressing domestic concerns. Our children con-

tinue to grow, no matter what international crisis arises. And for most of these kids, every day lost from school because of lack of teachers or school rooms is lost forever.

**Herbert H. Lehman, U.S. Senator from New York**—There are more



than a billion people, outside the Iron Curtain, who want a better life, more food, better shelter and protection against epidemic disease. They want dignity. They want equality. Are we going to be their friends and advocates, or shall we let the Soviet Union occupy the role of protector and spokesman of the underprivileged of the earth? Should we sit idly by and let our enemy continue to fan among these peoples flames of hate and resentment against us—for being rich and powerful? Or shall we work to win the friendship, gratitude and support of these people? An expanded Point Four program and an expanded program of foreign economic aid may cost more money than we can comfortably afford. But the question is no longer, "Can we afford it?" The question is, "Can we afford *not* to do it?"

**James L. McDevitt, director, L.L.P.E.**—Every American Federa-



tion of Labor member is being asked to join Labor's League for Political Education and contribute just one dollar to help elect friendly candidates this year. What does \$1 mean? If I were to say that I could guarantee repeal of Taft-Hartley in return for \$1 from each A. F. of L. member, do you imagine that anyone would hesitate to contribute? Of course, nobody could make such a guarantee. However, I am personally convinced that we can bring an end to the domination of Congress by the reactionary forces if we secure sufficient contributions to wage an even fight with our opponents this year. We must elect a better Congress if we want better laws that will benefit all the American people.

# The Busy Little Rabbits

**W**HAT are we waiting for?" asked Whitetail the rabbit in a whisper.

"We are waiting for danger to be out of our way," said her brother very softly. "See that old hawk? We would make a good dinner for him."

After a while, the dark shadow of the enemy passed over. Then the two little rabbits were free again to scamper over the meadow and through the little patch of woods.

As they reached their safe home under the berry bushes, their mother said, just as human mothers often say to their boy and girl children:

"I'm certainly glad you children decided to come home. I need your help."

"Will it take very long?" asked Whitetail, who was eager to get out in the sunshine again.

"Will we have to stay in all afternoon?" asked her brother.

"Now, now, children! Just get aprons off the top bramble and put them on."

Their mother's face was lighted by such a pleasant smile that Brother and Whitetail felt sure they were going to have some fun.

"Please tie mine around me, Brother," said Whitetail, as she turned her back to him.

"But, Mother, what are we going to cook?" asked Brother. "We've just had a good dozen carrots and lots of fresh lettuce."

"Oh, we're not going to cook anything," their mother said. "We are going to color. Look out under the blackberry branch and see if you can catch a glimpse of Bunny and Pinky. They promised to come over right after lunch."

"And, Mother," said Brother, "I forgot to tell you, but we saw Long-ears this morning. He said to tell you he would be over before dark, but he was busy going on an errand and would not get back much before that time. Just what are we having? A party?"

"No, my little fellow. But since this is your first spring, I should tell you that you are now going to help us older rabbits get the Easter surprises ready for the children who live in houses."

"Oh, Mother!" exclaimed Whitetail. "You mean we are going to help color eggs for the Easter Rabbit to give to the children?"

"You have guessed the secret, Whitetail," said their mother. "I think I see Bunny and Pinky coming down the path. They are wonderful helpers. Last year was their first time, but they took to the coloring the way Mrs. Duck's children take to the water."

She welcomed her two older children, who had moved to homes of their own, and soon they too had aprons tied around their furry middles to keep the color off themselves. Whitetail and Brother were delighted to have their other brother and sister with them, and the five animals were soon busy as could be, mixing pots of bright colors and stirring the dyes until just the right shades were obtained.

"But, Mother, where are the eggs?" asked Brother.

"Long-ears is going to bring them," she answered. "He was going to get them from Mr. Easter Rabbit and bring them to us later this afternoon. Look out under the blackberry branch and see if he is coming."

"Yes, Mother, he is," announced Brother after taking a look. "But he isn't hopping along like he usually does."

"He has too heavy a load," said Pinky. "I'll go help him."

And with that all the little bunnies rushed out to give a hand to Long-ears. He was loaded down with two huge baskets filled with white eggs. Freed of his burden, he hopped quickly up the little path to the home of his mother, and the others hurried after him with the precious eggs.

Mrs. Mother Rabbit spoke:

"Now, listen to me while I give

instructions. The whitest eggs go into the lighter colors, like the pale green and yellow and light blue and pink. Darker eggs go into the darker dyes, like purple, red and dark blue and darker green."

"Just like last year," said Pinky.

"Correct! Now get busy, you who know how, and I will stay by Brother and Whitetail to give them directions on how to make ordinary eggs into beautiful Easter eggs."

So for the balance of the day and far into the evening the kitchen was a gay and busy place. It was almost like magic to see the white eggs emerge so lovely from their baths.

Whitetail had only one white spot left on her when she got through, and that spot was her little white tail. She had spattered colors all over her or wiped streaks of dye down her fur as she worked. All the other rabbits laughed and laughed, and they said she was their Easter prize, all different colors. When Whitetail examined herself in the mirror, she joined in the laughter, too.

"What do we do with the eggs, Mother, now that they are finished?" asked Brother.

"We put them back into their baskets and set them outside our door. Mr. Easter Rabbit will be along sometime in the night to get them and take them to the boy and girl children."

"I guess you had better put Whitetail to bed in the back bedroom," said Bunny, "so Mr. Easter Rabbit won't take her to give to some good child for an extra-special gift."

"Oh, he won't get me," said Whitetail. "I would scream my loudest!"

"No, he won't take you," said Mother. "Now all of you get washed up while I empty the dyes. Then I'll get some dinner ready. I know we are all hungry as can be. Thank you, my dears, for your wonderful help."

"Oh, we wouldn't have missed it for anything," they responded in a chorus. "It is our way of wishing everyone a happy Easter."

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This Is to Certify That

J. E. Johnstone



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